APRIL 28, 1980 $1.25

TIME

High Noon for America's Allies

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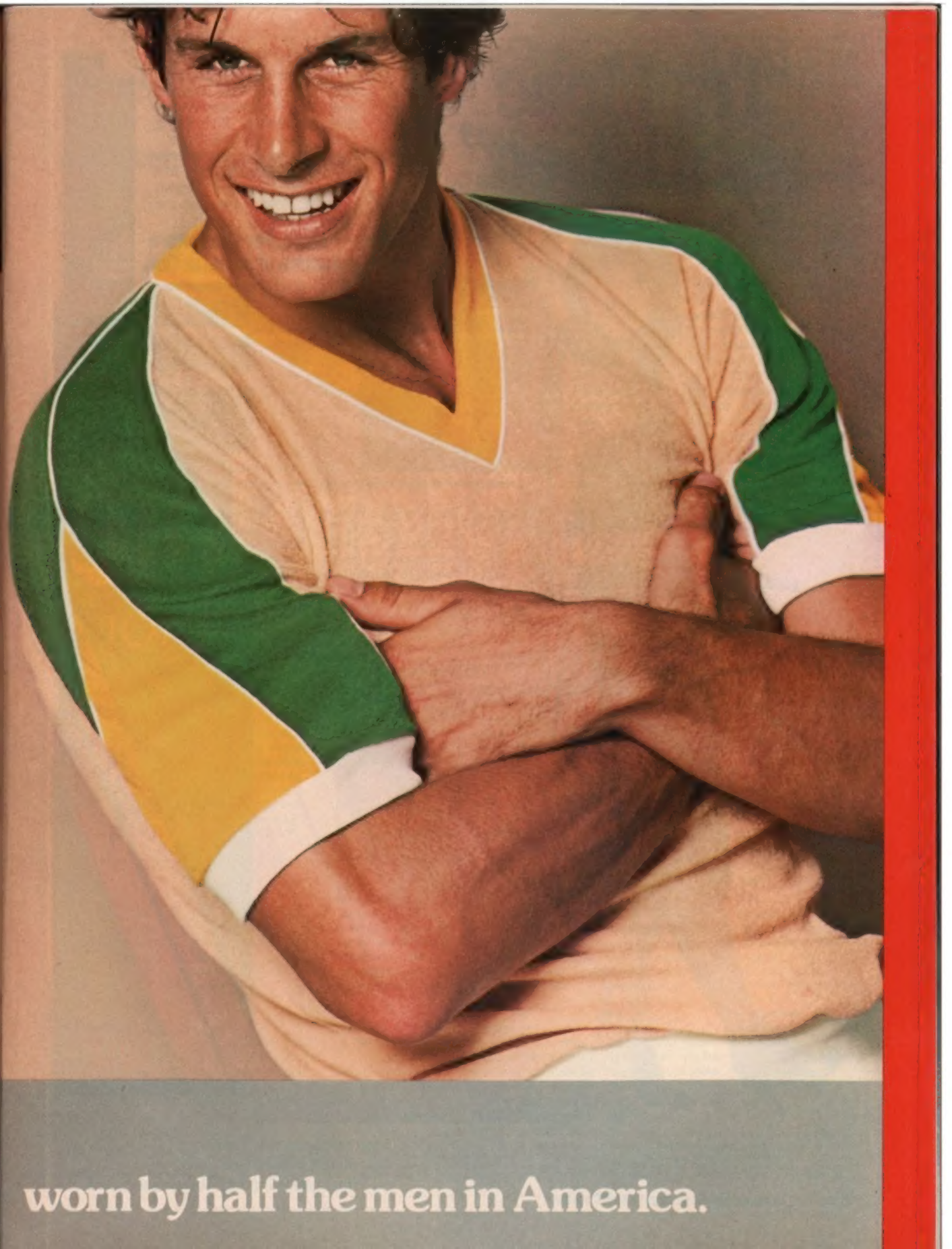
In a world full of designer labels it may come as a surprise that one of them is



worn by half the men in America.

"I'm More satisfied."

"I'm not easily satisfied with most things. But More gives me what I want—great satisfying taste. And More is 120mm long, so that great taste lasts longer. That's why I get *extra* satisfaction.

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More. For that extra measure of satisfaction.

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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

APRIL 28, 1980 Vol. 115 No. 17 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

In October 1958, when Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Lolita* and Harry Golden's memoir *Only in America* were the most popular new books in the U.S., TIME published its first weekly list of bestsellers. Compiled from information provided by bookstores to TIME correspondents in 22 cities, the list was then one of the few to be truly national in scope. It has since become a bestseller in its own right, distributed by the Associated Press to its 1,370 member newspapers. But as the technology of publishing books has advanced, so has the arcane art of counting book sales. With this week's chart—led by Robert Ludlum's *The Bourne Identity* (fiction) and Milton and Rose Friedman's *Free to Choose* (nonfiction)—TIME's bestseller list enters the computer age. The new literary hit parade, product of an extensive study by Books Editor Stefan Kanfer, is based on the most representative sample of U.S. bookstores ever constructed and on retail sales figures for each title, reported to the penny.

RICHARD WOOD

Our new list in Salem, Mass.

Kanfer first turned his attention from print to print-outs more than a year ago, when he asked John P. Dessauer, a leading book industry statistician, how TIME could have the nation's most accurate bestseller list. With advice from the American Booksellers Association, Dessauer devised a sample of some 1,200 stores in cities across the U.S., balanced according to location, type of store and local sales volume. The group includes dozens of independent shops and mini-chains, the two largest U.S. booksellers (B. Dalton and Walden) and one middle-sized national chain (Brentano's). Each participating retailer has agreed to furnish a portion of its weekly sales figures to our data-processing department, which maintains strict confidentiality about the numbers. Dessauer then worked out a formula that assigns a statistical value to each store, reflecting its representative role in the sample. Figures for the two giant chains, for example, are weighted to approximate their actual percentage of total U.S. book sales.

Because it responds more rapidly to fluctuations in readers' tastes, TIME's new bestseller list is less static than its predecessor. Says Books Assistant Sharon Lauver, who helped coordinate tests of the new method: "Not only do books shift position more frequently, but new titles show up sooner." This week three works appear for the first time. To make such information more readily available to American readers, TIME is furnishing displays of its new bestseller list to bookstores around the U.S. TIME's readers, of course, need look no further than our Books section.

John a. Meyer

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Cover: Illustration by Edward Sorel.

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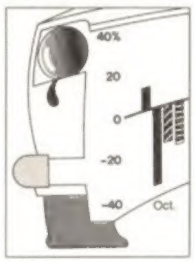

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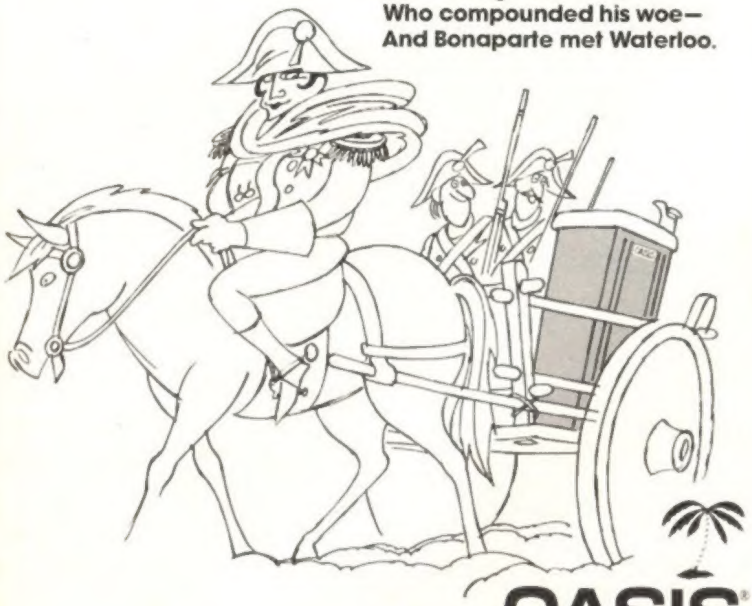
Napoleon conquered a slew,
Till he lost his Oasis—Mon Dieu!
Then along came a foe
Who compounded his woe—
And Bonaparte met Waterloo.



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Eraser Mate TW200
The ballpoint pen that erases as easily as a pencil.

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Life shouldn't be so fragile.

An accidental bump. A crash. A world shatters into jagged pieces. Emergency drainage of suffocating fluids from the chest falters when a collection jar breaks. Those wasted seconds are one reason many drainage units now use jars made of an almost shatterproof plastic developed by Phillips Petroleum. The jars save work, too. And they save money. But most of all, they can save time in an emergency room where time is the second most precious thing there is. Phillips Petroleum. Good things for cars—and the people who drive them. **The Performance Company**

HOW GM "PROJECT CENTERS" CREATE CARS

FROM CONCEPT TO CUSTOMER IN THREE YEARS AND THREE BILLION DOLLARS

Throughout the history of the automobile industry, product change was almost always evolutionary. But in 1973, GM determined that the times required revolutionary changes. It started its first Project Center—which by itself heralded a revolution in the use of science and technology to meet the changing demands of the marketplace. A few months later, the Arab countries launched the oil embargo. Fortunately, machinery was already in motion in GM to create and develop new cars and components in a new way and faster than ever before.

GM's first Project Center brought out totally new full-size cars: smaller, yet roomier, and far more efficient than their predecessors. The advertisements said they were "designed and engineered for a changing world"—and they were. Another Project Center, begun in 1975, developed the immensely popular GM X-cars.

Led by the five car divisions, Project Centers gather people, ideas, and knowledge from all 30 divisions and staffs of General Motors. In the first stage, which we call "concepting," experimental engineers, environmental scientists, forward planners, and marketing experts pool their thinking. Their objective: what the marketplace will require. This is the most important stage. Here we must determine not only what kind of car, but how many we might be able to build and sell years later. Economics, customer tastes, availability of various kinds of fuels must be compared with state-of-the-art technology—and what steps must be taken to advance that technology quickly yet surely.

In the "concepting" stage, a new car is conceived. If the car is to be sold to customers three years later, construction of new plants must begin and basic tooling must be ordered.

The second phase of the Project Center takes 24 to 30 months. It encompasses development, design, structural analysis, handling analysis, emissions, noise and vibration, safety, reliability, serviceability and repairability, manufacturing, assembly, marketing, financing.

Advanced product engineers and research scientists work with the one hundred fifty to two hundred people at the Project Center and thousands more in the staffs and divisions to transfer new science and technology to the new car. Components are hand-built and "cobbled" into existing models for road testing.

Prototype cars are hand-built at a cost of more than $250,000 each. These enable the Project Center team to determine how newly developed, pretested components operate as a unit. Then, pilot models will be built from production tooling and tested some more. New technology, such as structural analysis by computer, saves time. Lead time has been reduced by 25% from ten years ago, when cars were far less complex.

After almost four million miles, nearly three billion dollars, and nearly three years of work, the new cars—quite unlike anything before them—start coming off the production line at a rate of better than one a minute.

There are now eight Project Centers in General Motors. Four are developing new cars using hydrocarbon fuels, one is creating an electric car, and others are working on computerized engines and emission controls, a new kind of automatic transmission, and the inflatable restraint system.

New and revolutionary cars can't be mass produced for the road overnight. But by putting all the parts of General Motors to work together, we found a way to speed up the process. We have integrated the creativity of thousands of human minds to make invention into reality when it's needed.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

General Motors

People building transportation to serve people

Letters

Boeing's Birds

To the Editors:

In this jet age, it is comforting to know that somebody like the Boeing Co. [April 7], which really cares, is making those big birds for the world's airlines. American professionalism and engineering perfection have not completely gone down the drain after all.

George Kurien
Teaneck, N.J.

Boeing surely deserves credit for excellence in aircraft design, but don't forget the contribution made by the jet-engine companies, including Pratt & Whitney, General Electric and Rolls-Royce. The plane is designed around the engine. Recent advances in technology far surpass those of the airframe makers. The principal reason that Boeing and the other companies are venturing into new models is that these advances cut fuel costs while improving thrust and reliability.

Rolly Curtis
Ross, Calif.

The eruptions of Washington's Mount St. Helens are just a way of celebrating the awarding of $4 billion to Boeing to build the cruise missile.

Gene Wildman
New York City

Glorious Boeing conjures up questions of why General Motors, Ford or Chrysler cannot strive to master the roads of the world.

Richard E. Bicknell
Wayland, Mass.

All About God

Now that philosophers are acknowledging the existence of a Supreme Being (God) [April 7], we can once again appreciate the fact that civilizations from pre-Hittite to the present have believed in gods and worshiped them.

This inborn need to have a Supreme Being comes closest to the hitherto indefinable soul. Here is a simple idea any man can believe.

Albert E. Freeman
Mount Holly, N.J.

So religion is making a comeback. Can witches, goblins and devils be far behind? When will mankind outgrow this foolish superstition?

Clarence Gregory
Philadelphia

Scripture clearly says the wisest of men are fools, indicating that the best intellectual minds we have in our world are not able to cope with what God is really like. The experts are trying too hard. You don't reveal God, he reveals himself to you. Tell them all to relax, forget their intellectual reasoning and open themselves to him. He'll come; we have his promise.

Ormond W. Bray
Plainville, Conn.

Where did God stay before he created the heavens and earth? What did he do all day? Where did he come from? Was he created by a superior being?

Steve Handman
New York City

Judging from the rest of the news, I'd say you found God just in time.

Robert D. Geller
Freeport, Ill.

A Bankrupt Philosophy

With a $140 monthly tithe to the Mormon Church, I'm not surprised the Hobsons [April 7] went into debt—and they hardly qualify as a typical bankrupt family. What happened to the concept of separation of church and state when a court can allow them to continue this tithe while owing legitimate businesses $18,000?

Michael Aidan
San Francisco

What a fool I've been! All these years spent living in houses I could afford, paying my bills each month, using my credit cards with care and doing without in order to eat, keep warm and meet medical expenses. How much easier it would have been just to say "charge it" and wind up paying only 16¢ on the dollar.

Emelie J. Wisenbaker
Sapulpa, Okla.

An American Image

I agree with Lance Morrow's observation in "On Reimagining America" [March 31] that the U.S. honeymoon with images of its past (Manifest Destiny and "unlimited growth") is over. However, I disagree with his conclusion that we should turn right around and "start inventing and imagining" a new "myth" to entrance us anew. Instead, we desperately need insight into what it would really mean to inhabit North America, or Turtle Island, as the Indians called it, rather than to continue occupying and pillaging it like invaders. What is required is a renewal of the old "communionism" with the land and ancient spirit of Turtle Island.

Randall C. Furlong
Cambridge, England

Only our nation's minorities—the blacks, the Hispanics, even the Indians rescued from their reservations—have the soul and the drive to "start inventing and imagining again."

The Wasp work ethic, John Dewey's philosophy of materialism and an educational system based on pragmatism have created the mess we face today: the environment polluted and our natural resources despoiled and depleted; rampant inflation; our Government emasculated by third-rate powers like Iran; television used to spread violence or utter boredom and mediocrity. Our minorities are the last hope to avoid sliding into that ultimate black hole described in your Essay.

Luis Zalamea
Miami

Since other foreigners have interpreted and commented on America and Americans, may I also comment that every time the Americans feel like complaining, let them remember that their garbage disposals probably eat better than a great many people in this world.

Rusi N. Motiwalla
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Those Low-Blood-Sugar Blues

Thanks, but no thanks, for adding fuel to the American Medical Association's fire concerning hypoglycemia [April 7]. The A.M.A. needs to do less talking about how many people think they have low blood sugar and more research that will enable doctors to help those who do have the condition. It's easier to make a patient feel it's all in his head than to admit that the "great doctor" doesn't know enough about the treatment of a debilitating condition. If people are going to have blood-sugar problems, they would be better off to get diabetes—the A.M.A. believes in that.

Elizabeth A. Havey
Homewood, Ill.

Americans in Captivity

In your report on Natalie Crouter's book, *Forbidden Diary* [March 24], I found, for the first time in my life, a person who had something good to say about a Japanese concentration camp and about Japanese guards. I spent three years in a concentration camp on Java. The living conditions were abominable, we were kept on a starvation diet, and the death toll was great. There was no doubt in our minds on how to regard our Japanese cap-

tors. They were the enemy, pure and simple—evil incarnate. If this view is somewhat simplistic, it did give us a feeling of solidarity.

Henriette Rayburn
Yosu, South Korea

I was a prisoner of the Japanese in the Philippines, as was Mrs. Crouter, but after reading the article about her I wonder if we were in different wars, held by different captors. As a three-year-old, I suffered from kwashiorkor, a severe protein deficiency; this was not helped by eating the weevils in the rice, which we left in for their protein value. I remember three young men who were shot for trying to escape. We were forced to watch them dig their own graves, and then watch the execution itself.

The nightmare years are over, but oh, my God, in the name of honesty and reality, don't call the treatment decent!

John D. Byde
Danville, Calif.

Who Was the Rector?

You have run articles on the rebel movement in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, you said that Ahmed Gailani [Jan. 28] was a rector of the Islamic Center in Copenhagen. This is false. My father Sibghatullah Mojadidi was the rector of the Islamic Center. He is a well-known Islamic scholar, with a specialization in Islamic law. Mojadidi is very much in favor of the unity of Afghan rebel groups. The group of which he is a member is open to everyone and is working for the liberation of Afghanistan and its people.

Najib Mojadidi
Jacksonville

Peace, Soviet Style

I was puzzled by the letter from Vladimir Alexeev of the Novosti Press in Moscow, which touted the "peace program" of the Soviet Union [April 7]. Alexeev urged our Government to join the U.S.S.R. in making the world a safer place. I have one question. Are the invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan examples of implementing the Soviet peace program?

Stephen E. Bozzo
Scranton, Pa.

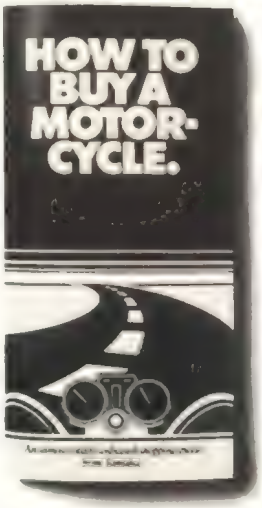
Ageism and Usefulness

The first half of your Essay on ageism [March 24] represented an open mind, but you slipped into the closed mind of "vital use." The trap of our culture is believing that people can live if they are useful. What is important is not "being useful" but "being." We do not sell grandmothers' smiles in the local supermarket.

James O. Banks
Willoughby, Ohio

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

FIGHTING THE GAS WAR CAN BE FUN.



We know a lot of you are thinking about buying a motorcycle. So we've published a practical little primer to help answer your questions — questions like which type and size motorcycle is right for me? Two-stroke or four-stroke? What about insurance? Financing? And much more.

Our "How to Buy a Motorcycle" booklet is unbiased and objective. (Well, we did throw in a few good words for ourselves at the end.) And, if you ask us, it's kind of fun to read.

Best of all, it's free. Just fill in the blanks, send us the coupon, and we'll send you the booklet. Or pick one up at any Yamaha dealer.

You'll find out how to get more miles, and fun, per gallon.

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TIME/APRIL 28, 1980

COVER STORIES

Storm over the Alliance

Crises in Iran, Afghanistan drive wedge between America and its friends

The dispute had become one of the most serious crises in the history of the relations between the U.S. and its allies. Tensions on both sides, which have been mounting for months, last week broke into the open, to the great dismay of allied capitals and the obvious delight of Moscow. If not brought rapidly under control, the growing storms could weaken the very ties that have enabled the leading nations of the free world to act in concert on security issues since the end of World War II. A major Soviet goal in the past three decades has been to drive a wedge between the U.S. and its allies with the hope of crippling the American military presence in Europe and U.S. security influence in Japan. Ultimately at stake, therefore, could be a shift in the global power balance. Just how the crisis is managed will challenge all the leadership skills not only of Jimmy Carter but of the heads of government of America's main allies as well.

What touched off the immediate uproar was the Carter Administration's open dismay over what it regards as the lack of backing by the allies for Washington's responses to the twin crises of the American hostages in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In the long run, the Afghan crisis is almost certain to be the more difficult for the allies to confront with a common policy. While the U.S. will continue pushing for relatively tough countermoves, its partners will hesitate, feeling that the issue is peripheral to their own security. What is more, the allies doubt that the U.S. has the power to take effective action in that part of the world.

Most of Washington's attention, however, was focused last week on the unrelieved plight of the 50 American hostages in the U.S. embassy in Iran. And it was on this matter that sparks were flying with the allies. Since the start of the month, the White House stand on Iran had become increasingly tough. In a televised press conference late last week, Carter tightened the economic and political sanctions against Iran that he had announced on April 7 and declared that "we're beyond the time for gestures; we want our people to be set free." In a clear warning that military action against Iran was a real possibility, Carter said that the "availability of peaceful measures, like the patience of the American people, is running out."

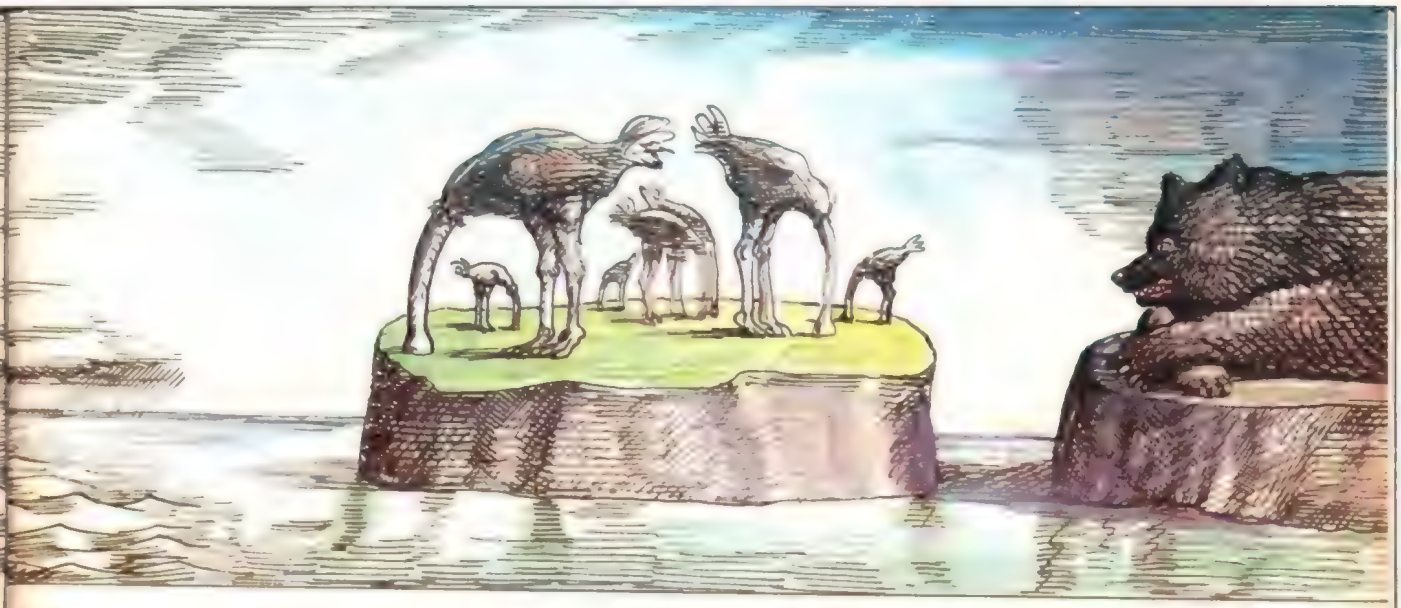
Carter's tone at the press conference was generally conciliatory toward the allies. Though he admitted that he has "sometimes been disappointed at the rapidity of action and the substance of the action" that they have taken, he concluded that by and large "they have performed adequately." But the word "adequately" implied all that really needed to be said about the Administration's view of how the allies had behaved

Carter's campaign to prod the allies into action began with another television appearance, this one extraordinary by any measure. Acting more like an embattled President going over the heads of a balky Congress to the people of America than a statesman dealing with sovereign allies, Carter personally took the U.S. case directly to the West European public. Interviewed by correspondents from British, French, Italian and West German television networks, he talked bluntly about what he expected from the allies. To a potential audience of scores of millions, he stressed that the U.S. needs "the full and aggressive support of our allies" in order to show the Iranians "that we all do stand together in this condemnation of terrorism."

Carter said he had sent a message to the leaders of Europe setting what he called "a specific date" by which the U.S. "would expect this common effort to be successful." It turned out later that he was really talking about mid-May Carter also implied that the U.S. would resort to military action if need be

The alliance that now confronts the challenges of Iran and Afghanistan is one of the most remarkable in history. Created more than three decades ago, it has survived longer than just about any other grouping of sovereign states. The U.S. is its center, with Europe and Japan on the wings, a balancing act that would ordinarily defy all laws of international gravity. It is much more than a polygamous mil-

Illustration for TIME by Eugene Mihaesco



itary marriage of convenience in the face of a common foe, and more than an economic bonding. The alliance is based on a common commitment to democracy and, in the case of all but Japan, on a shared cultural heritage.

As independent states, the NATO members of the alliance understandably have differed with each other on occasions.* But the current problems are more serious and fundamental than those of previous years. To a great degree they reflect significant economic and military changes not only in the world as a whole but also in the relationships between the allies. Says U.S. Ambassador to Japan Mike Mansfield, the former Democratic chief of the Senate: "We can no longer expect responses like we used to get automatically from our allies."

Ironically, when the hostage crisis first erupted in early November, the allies did much of what Washington asked them to do. They joined in condemnations of the militants, acted as secret mediators with Tehran and voted in the U.N. Security Council for sanctions against Iran. Everyone was also in step when Washington decided to soften its policy toward Iran in the hopes of bolstering relatively moderate Iranian leaders like President Abolhassan Banisadr.

Sharp U.S. dismay with the allies began to mount when Washington reluctantly concluded that tough measures were becoming necessary because the Iranian moderates either would not or could not secure the release of the American hostages. Typical of the disheartening news from Iran was the report the White House received last week that the Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini was not planning to release the hostages until after the U.S. elections in November. In a note at the end of March, Carter requested the allies to make public statements and use their diplomats in Tehran to pressure the Iranians. Says a White House aide: "We asked for prompt, complementary action but not necessarily simultaneous action."

The feeble response the Administration received in part prompted last week's diplomatic offensive, highlighted by the Carter European TV interview. Carter also telephoned allied leaders, speaking several times to some, such as West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Notes were exchanged and allied ambassadors trooped back and forth from meetings at foreign ministries. Administration officials, meanwhile, were making little effort to disguise their pique with the allies. Snapped a White House aide: "We wound up just as mad at the allies as at Iran." Complained a senior European expert at the State Department: "The allies have been slow, aggravating beyond belief and sometimes plain infuriating." And a White House staffer noted that "I don't think that we'll let the Europeans forget this."

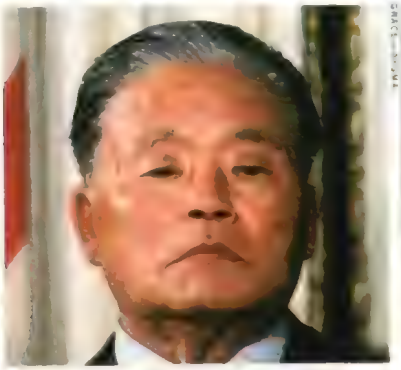
As the week went on, the White House tried to persuade its allies that it made more sense to support the comparatively mild measure of leveling sanctions against Iran than it did to risk having the U.S. take military action that could disrupt the flow of oil to Europe and Japan. Says one Administration official: "It is not a very subtle point. They understand that the more pressure we can put on now, the less we'll have to squeeze later. And they know that we don't have much left to squeeze with."

Finally the message got through. Declared British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher: "The United States is entitled to look to Europe for support in her great moment of need." Japan's Prime Minister, Masayoshi Ohira similarly pledged support of the U.S., saying it comes before oil imports from Iran. And West Germany's Schmidt even seemed offended that Americans would feel that they had been "left in the lurch by us." He declared: "We know that the fundamental security of the Federal Republic is with the U.S., even when one has doubts about some of the measures demanded from us." In a phone call to Carter, the Chancellor praised the President's TV performance and expressed a general willingness to back him. He asked, however, that Carter be patient with the consultative process required within the European Community.

Exactly what the Europeans are prepared to do—or not do—will become clear at this week's Luxembourg meeting of European Community foreign ministers (which will be attended by Japanese Foreign Minister Saburo Okita) or at next week's European Community summit. The organization's experts have prepared memos outlining the economic and legal aspects of a potential boycott of Iran. One Community study argues that an economic boycott, in concert with the U.S. and Japan, could impose much more damage on Iran than that country could inflict in retaliation by cutting off oil shipments. Reason: in the wake of the Iranian crisis, the allies have gradually been reducing their purchases of oil from Tehran, but Iranian industry still needs West European goods to keep going. E.C. members now get only 3% of their oil from Iran, and Japan 10%.

E.C. endorsement of a boycott or other economic sanctions will require a unanimous agreement, a fact of Community life that in the past has stymied bold initiatives. As before, the French seem to be the main obstacle. While the European allies would all greatly prefer to act under the Community's umbrella, some appear to be edging toward taking tough measures unilaterally to back the U.S. Bonn and the powerful West German business community now favor economic moves against Iran that they once opposed. Said Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the West German Chambers of Industry and Commerce: "The time has now come to support the

*NATO's members: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, United Kingdom, U.S., West Germany



Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira

Britain's Margaret Thatcher

Americans. Sanctions are in order."

Schmidt's Cabinet meeting this week is expected to approve measures that would, among other things, freeze $6 billion of Iranian funds deposited in West German banks, cut off all shipments of technology and spare parts to Iranian industry and further pare the already skeletal West German diplomatic mission in Tehran. Remarked a senior chancellery official in Bonn: "This should go a long way toward backing the U.S. even if our other West European allies do not necessarily follow." Britain is ready to join the West Germans in imposing trading sanctions and further reducing its embassy staff.

Though allied leaders were falling into line, they were doing so primarily to demonstrate backing for the U.S., not because they were convinced of the wisdom of Carter's policy. The nine members of the European Community and Japan recalled temporarily their ambassadors from Tehran, though this was far from completely breaking relations as Washington had done. A senior foreign ministry official in Bonn argued that Western diplomats in Tehran would help the U.S. work to free the hostages. He also warned that the Soviets would take advantage of the power vacuum: "We should not make room for them."

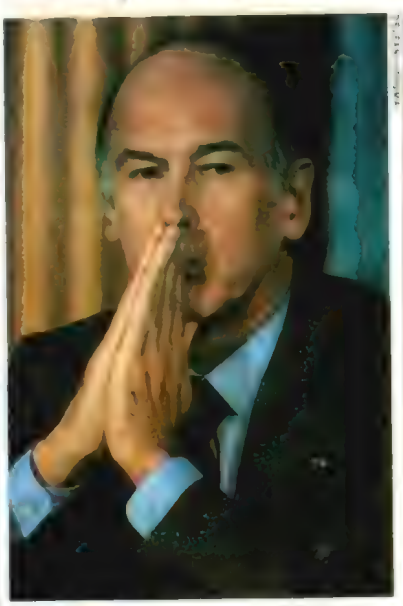
The French insist that it is also essential for Western officials to remain in Tehran to support Iranian moderates like Banisadr. The Italians feel that their diplomats in Iran are particularly useful because they supposedly have clout with Iranian radicals. Italy's President Alessandro Pertini supported persecuted Iranian students during the Shah's reign.

As the week went on, Moscow wasted little time exploiting the growing tensions in the alliance. The Kremlin warned West Europeans not to bow to U.S. pressure in such matters as modernizing NATO's tactical nuclear arsenal and boycotting this summer's Moscow Olympic Games. In Paris, Soviet Ambassador Stepan Chervonenko stated that unless the allies resist, they would be turned into "an instrument for America's global policy" and would allow the U.S. to "attain strategic objectives on the backs of others." When Bonn indicated that it would probably follow the U.S. lead and boycott the Olympics, the Soviet Ambassador to West Germany warned that such a decision would have "political consequences in the relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union." Japan also announced its support of the boycott last week, which has been backed as well by Britain. With much of Western Europe staying away from the Moscow Games, it is almost certain that the French will also join the boycott.

To both France and West Germany, the Soviets offered a carrot along with the stick. Chervonenko warmly characterized Franco-Soviet relations as a "preferential friendship," while Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev last week invited Helmut Schmidt to go to Moscow early this summer for a long delayed summit meeting. The invitation surprised Schmidt, who promptly phoned Carter, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and other Western leaders to discuss Bonn's response to an overture clearly intended by the Soviets to split the allies. In view of the already existing tensions in the alliance, a chancellery aide in Bonn emphasized that Schmidt "is not going to rush into anything. We know full well what is at stake, and the last thing we want is to complicate matters for the alliance."

Washington's difficulties in obtaining the full support of Western Europe and Japan reflect how drastically the relationship between the dominant ally and its partners has changed. Peter Jay, former British Ambassador to the U.S., quips that in the good old days "the roles were well defined. The U.S. decided, and the other allies complained." The fact

West Germany's Helmut Schmidt with Jimmy Carter at their March meeting in Washington



French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

As part of the American contribution to NATO's security, an Air Force F-4 Phantom patrols the skies over West Germany on a routine exercise

that the process is now much more complicated is due in great part to the phenomenal successes of America's post-World War II policy of reconstructing both Western Europe and Japan. Says Harald Malmgren, former U.S. assistant special representative for trade negotiations: "We intended to build independent, strong allies. We're now in a position of parents who have realized that our children have grown up."

They indeed have grown up, and in some ways—also like children—have grown away. The economic change is particularly dramatic. The 1950s and most of the 1960s were a kind of golden age in the alliance, when business goals and interests were shared to an extraordinary extent. But today, in the words of Francis Wilcox, director of the Atlantic Council of the U.S., "the other allies have different energy needs from ours and even different dependencies."

A startling set of statistics documents the change. In 1958, the nine states that today make up the E.C. imported $3.5 billion worth of farm and manufactured products from the U.S., but only $342 million in goods from the Middle East, including oil. By 1978 (the most recent period for which complete figures are available) the E.C.'s purchases from the U.S. had jumped a respectable tenfold, to $35 billion. But purchases from the Middle East had soared to $42 billion, a sum spent in large part for crude oil and natural gas. In only two decades, the Middle East had become substantially more important than the U.S. as a Western European trading partner. Even more important, Middle East oil has become absolutely essential to America's allies. Small wonder that Europe and Japan are hesitant about taking any action against Iran that might incur the wrath of other oil producing states.

Trade also influences allied attitudes toward the Soviet Union. Bonn is Moscow's top trading partner in the West; their combined trading volume last year totaled $7.6 billion, compared with $765 million in 1970. Paris wants to increase trade with Moscow, which last year totaled $3.7 billion. As a whole, the E.C. sold $12 billion in goods to the Soviets last year, almost four times the $3.4 billion (mostly grain) sold by the U.S. Understandably, Western Europeans strongly emphasize trade factors when advocating a more restrained policy toward the U.S.S.R. Understandably the U.S. is not very receptive to such arguments

U.S. Marines during war games in Norway

The unstable U.S. dollar has also contributed to the changed economic relationships within the alliance. Since its link to gold was severed in 1971, the dollar has fluctuated substantially—at times almost wildly—in international trading and has lost value against every Western European currency. Much of the respect that the dollar commanded for the quarter-century after World War II is gone, even though it still makes up some 80% of the world's monetary reserves.

Tensions are also heightened by the different views that Washington and a Bonn or Paris bring to world problems. The U.S. is a global superpower—one of two—with worldwide interests; its allies are regional powers with commensurately limited interests. Says Christoph Bertram, director of London's International Institute for Strategic Studies: "The attitude toward an international problem on the part of a medium and small power is to seek to live with it. The attitude of a superpower is to seek to change it."

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Washington logically perceives the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as being part of a global challenge. For the allies, Afghanistan is a distant land where events should not be the cause of a new cold war between East and West. Thus the allies view the tough U.S. response to the Soviet invasion as an overreaction that has unnecessarily provoked Moscow. From their regional perspective, the European allies fear nothing so much as they do an angry U.S.S.R. and a deterioration of U.S.-Soviet relations. Warns Schmidt: "You don't want to scare the Russian bear. It could feel cornered and lash out."

So far, Western Europe has hesitated to retaliate against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan by imposing truly painful measures on Moscow, like the embargo of high technology exports. Some see this reluctance to offend the Soviets as the start of Finlandization, a term derived from the fact that Finland is so thoroughly intimidated by the neighboring Soviets that it dares take no action that might offend them. In the opinion of Raymond Aron, a leading French political analyst, the process has already begun in Europe. Says Aron: "Finlandization starts in the mind. If a nation acts powerless and terrified, that's called Finlandization."

Probably no factor has more impeded America's ability to lead the alliance in the current crises than the disdain that allied leaders have for Jimmy Carter. He is generally regarded as being inept and naive, and as a politician who has demonstrated his inability to set a foreign policy course, stick by it and execute it. "Zigzag" and "flip-flop" have become part of the scornful lexicon of European diplomats. Among the examples most often cited: Carter's push to have the neutron warhead deployed in Western Europe, winning the support of a reluctant Helmut Schmidt, only to postpone the project indefinitely; pressuring West Germany to reflate its economy and then dropping the notion; shocking Tokyo by announcing that U.S. forces were to be withdrawn from South Korea, only to backtrack later on.

Carter's handling of the hostage matter is the latest case in point for the Europeans. In their eyes, he first was tough, then soft, then tough again. While the White House can argue persuasively that these changes made sense because of the evolving situation, the switches dismayed the allies. Had they quickly followed Carter's initial tough policy, notes the ambassador of a European country, the allies would have been caught by the change: "We would have been out on a limb and you would have sawed it off. That's why we're a little wary of being told now that we have to be tough."

The allies have been especially alarmed by Carter's unsteady management of U.S.-Soviet relations. While the President has consistently advocated human rights and sought nuclear arms curbs,

How to Dodge the Torpedo

Two articulate proponents of the American and European points of view on the nature of the alliance—and who was letting down whom—had a lively exchange at a lunch with TIME *editors that provided a rare glimpse of the emotions underlying diplomatic relations. What sparked the debate was the charge that the Europeans had not rallied to Carter's call for support in dealing with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but the discussion covered the broader question of Europe's policy toward the Kremlin. Speaking for the U.S.: William Hyland, 51, now retired from a career that took him to the top levels of the State Department and the* CIA. *Hyland spent eight years as an aide to Henry Kissinger in the White House and State Department. Speaking for Europe: Karl Kaiser, 44, the director of the Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs in Bonn and professor of politics at the University of Cologne.*

Hyland: Many Americans take the view that the West Europeans have been laggard, hesitant and weak, if not in total opposition to American policy. All this has been under the guise of a lot of talk about "special relationships" that they have to protect. The French have been their usual insidious, sinister selves. The Germans have taken comfort in the fact that they've got the French to move three degrees away from their destructive, obstructive policies.

Why should the Soviets worry about what the Europeans are going to do,

William Hyland — Karl Kaiser

given the way the Europeans have behaved? Why should the Soviets try to make some deal [on Afghanistan], when the Europeans—except for the British—have done absolutely nothing to cause the Soviets any concern at all?

Speaking from the American side, I think the Europeans have been way behind in all this, and they've got a lot of catching up to do. I don't think it's a great accomplishment that Europe has shown it can agree on a communiqué or two. As for the whole business about how the West Europeans have to think first about building Europe, that's talk from ten years ago. It is no longer an excuse for lack of a supportive policy.

Kaiser: I don't think you're fair. Let me go a step further and make a counterassault. The view you're expressing has been passed on from time to time in a semiofficial way, and it is really counterproductive. It irritates the Europeans because they feel they are doing a number of constructive things. It is certainly not correct to say that the Europeans have done absolutely nothing. If you put together all the measures, you come up with quite a list of actions.* Nor can you blame the Europeans for not coming forth with immediate answers when the Americans themselves don't know what they want to do. It is false to ask us to produce instant answers when you don't have them yourselves, answers without prior notice or consultation, or when deep down Washington is divided as to the effectiveness of the proposed measures. It is certainly not helpful in the transatlantic dialogue.

Many Europeans say, "We need a joint response; we agree with the U.S.; we agree with the principle of drawing the line; we'll do it jointly and we'll divide the work; now let's figure out how to do it." Isn't that the only sensible thing we can do at the moment? I think on the whole, the ship is moving in the right direction. Let's not torpedo it.

*Examples: giving military assistance to Turkey; aiding African states; adopting a nuclear modernization program.

U.S. HOLDS THE POWER

	Manpower	Tanks	Warships & submarines	Combat aircraft	Artillery	Strategic nuclear launchers*	Strategic nuclear warheads
United States	2,032,400	12,675	306	5,019	6,872	2,058	9,200
Britain	322,900	900	98	540	352	64	192
W. Germany	495,000	3,779	47	612	1,124	0	0
France	509,300	1,060	71	596	663	64	64
Other NATO	1,532,100	8,280	206	1,663	5,200	0	0
Total NATO	4,891,700	26,694	728	8,430	14,211	2,186	9,456
Total Warsaw Pact including U.S.S.R	4,763,000	63,850	542	7,340	24,000	2,500	4,950

*Bombers, ICBMs, SLBMs

TIME Charts by Nigel Holmes

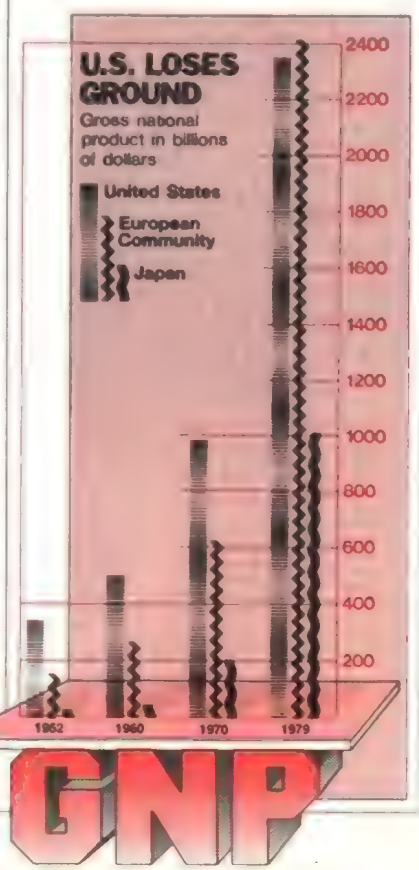
NATO

his manner of pursuing his policies has vacillated. Carter's SALT proposals of March 1977 shocked the Soviets because, without warning, they called for sharp cuts in the superpowers' nuclear arsenals. When Moscow balked, Carter quickly dropped the initiative. The allies found Carter's stands on the Soviets' so-called combat brigade in Cuba particularly confounding: first the presence of the unit on the island was "not acceptable," then it was tacitly accepted. At times, the allies contend, it has been totally unclear who really has been in charge of formulating the Administration's approach to the Soviets: the generally cautious Secretary of State Cyrus Vance or the more hawkish National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. This has prompted the West Germans to label the U.S. policy as one characterized by *Wirrwarr* or confusion. Concludes a top-ranking chancellery official in Bonn: "Carter's motives have been beyond question, as has been his integrity. It's been his lack of aptitude that has undermined his reliability."

Two other Europeans, Carter's erratic moves smack of domestic American politics. The French specifically feel that it is more than coincidental that Carter decided to get tough with Iran and the allies on the eve of this week's Pennsylvania presidential primary. Their own domestic politics, however, also play a role in shaping the allies' response to Washington; Chancellor Schmidt must stand for election next fall, and he is being criticized by Franz Josef Strauss, his rival, for being too soft on the Soviets.

For key allies, special factors color their perception of foreign affairs. Though shared traditions, language and the bonds of two world wars draw the British especially close to the U.S., Washington recognizes that London will not freeze Iranian assets because that could undermine world confidence in Britain's profitable international banking business.

The Japanese not only are more dependent on foreign energy supplies than any other of the major allies, they are also isolated from their partners by geography, time zones and even language. The Japanese claim that they are by nature reluctant to speak out boldly on issues. Says Jun Tsunoda, director of Tokyo's Center for Strategic Studies: "We are brought up in a tradition of civility. We don't like to say blunt things."



GNP

The French treasure the legacy of Charles de Gaulle that mandates they pursue an independent foreign policy. Independence usually has been defined as opposing the U.S., and all French politicians, even one as powerful as Giscard, must be careful not to appear to tag along after Washington. Additionally, Paris insists that it has a unique relationship with Moscow that enables the French to mediate between the West and the Soviets.

Keeping some distance from the Americans is also the policy of the left-wing socialists who constitute an influential minority within Schmidt's Social Democratic Party. Says one of its most prominent members, former Chancellor Willy Brandt: "We must not be more American than the Americans." As half of a divided nation, West Germany is reluctant to pursue policies that could impair the ability of its citizens to visit their relatives in East Germany or that could once again raise tensions around Berlin. In the aftermath of Bonn's condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for example, Moscow forced cancellation of a meeting that Schmidt was going to have with East German Communist Party Boss Erich Honecker to discuss expanded trade and access by West Germans to East Germany. Another benefit of détente that Bonn does not want to lose is the arrangement that during the past decade has permitted some 250,000 ethnic Germans, mainly in the U.S.S.R. and Poland, to be repatriated to West Germany.

But though the allies have reasons for being reluctant followers, the U.S. has good cause to call for their support. Many Americans expect it simply because of what the U.S. has done for its allies in the past. Says a U.S. ambassador with wide experience in Europe: "We've given our allies a lot and we really haven't asked for anything in return. Our allies have got completely unused to the idea that an alliance should be a two-way street."

The French dismiss such references to prior American help as irrelevant in today's world but the West Germans do recognize that gratitude ought to be a factor. Says Helmut Kohl, chairman of West Germany's Christian Democratic Union: "We have relied on the U.S. for our protection, including Berlin's. It is only right that we now stand with the U.S., for the entire West's sake."

The main argument that the U.S. should be supported by its allies is based not on sentiment, however, but on a fact as hard as steel: the U.S. still protects the free world. For this reason, the U.S. believes that any European hope of achieving a separate, regional détente with the

Soviets is impossible. The allies can pursue their individual regional concerns solely because they are guarded by the massive nuclear deterrent posed by the American missile, submarine and bomber forces.

The U.S. military shield is not only nuclear. Some 39,000 troops are based in South Korea and an additional 44,000 in Japan. Their fundamental purpose: to maintain the military balance in East Asia that is a precondition for continued Japanese political stability and economic growth. On the European continent the U.S. deploys more than 200,000 troops. By comparison, Britain has 55,000 troops stationed outside of its territory, Belgium 25,000, The Netherlands 8,620 and France 34,000. Though West Germany has 495,000 men and women in uniform, none serve outside the Federal Republic.

The cost of the vast U.S. arsenal imposes a greater burden on Americans than on citizens of any other allied country. Last year U.S. defense spending amounted to $510 for each American, compared with $396 for West Germans, $349 for Frenchmen, $314 for Britons and $124 for Italians.

Three years ago, in response to the alarming buildup of Soviet conventional and nuclear arms in the past decade, NATO members pledged to increase their own military outlays annually "in the region of 3%," adjusted for inflation. Their record has been good. France, Britain and the U.S., among others, reached the goal last year, and are expected to do so this year. West Germany fell short in 1979 but will probably hit 3% in 1980. The Japanese have been increasing their military spending by about 8% annually for most of the past decade. They started, however, from a very low base and will put only .9% of their gross national product into arms this year, compared with the 3.4% spent by West Germany and the 5.2% paid out by the U.S. (The Soviet figure is estimated to be between 11% and 13%.)

There were indications at a high-level NATO meeting last week that the tempo of the pact's modernization program might quicken the spending increase. France and Britain are updating their own small nuclear forces. Europe has also strengthened the alliance by defying Soviet protests and allowing the U.S. to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in some countries. To bolster NATO even more, the U.S. is asking its friends to assume further responsibility for their own defense, thereby freeing American forces for duty in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere.

One allied argument for not supporting the U.S. was that the events in Iran and Afghanistan were outside of their purview—that they were not covered by the terms either of the NATO alliance or the American defense treaty with Japan. Technically, this is true, but events far distant from Europe or East Asia may still profoundly affect the security of those regions. Referring to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter last week said that unless the allies "stand united [and] take firm action to show the Soviets that they will suffer because of it, that might lead to increasing encroachment by the Soviet Union against other countries."

What it comes down to, says Jean-François Revel, director of *L'Express*, the French weekly newsmagazine, is that "the allies cannot at the same time be in the Atlantic Alliance and act as if they are not in the alliance. Membership in an alliance implies responsibilities."

America's allies are apparently beginning to accept this fact, which is why they are expected to take stronger action backing U.S. policies on the hostages and Afghanistan than they had planned at first. Some of Schmidt's aides admit that the original Western European assessment playing down the significance of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was wrong; the more alarmist American view, they now agree, was closer to reality.

This hardly means that unanimity is about to link the allies forevermore—or for a week. As Secretary of Defense Har-

Seasoned by Stress

Faced with Soviet expansion that culminated in the Berlin blockade and the allied airlift, the U.S., Canada and ten Western European nations signed the North Atlantic Treaty of mutual defense on April 4, 1949. Greece and Turkey joined in 1952, West Germany in 1955. During its 31 years, NATO has survived a number of crises and events that, like the current one, have shaded and changed Europe's views of the U.S., and vice versa.

1950: The U.S. intervenes militarily in Korea after the Soviet-sponsored North invades the American-backed South. Other NATO countries under United Nations auspices provide support and troops.

1956: The French and British are alienated when President Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles denounce, and thus doom, their attack on Egypt after President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal.

1957: The Soviets test-launch their first intercontinental ballistic missile more than a year ahead of the American program. Then comes Sputnik, galvanizing the alliance into trying to meet the growing Soviet nuclear threat.

1961: The East Germans build the Berlin Wall to stop the flood of refugees to the West. The U.S. takes no action, reinforcing European doubts about the American will to act.

1962: The NATO allies offer the U.S. unwavering support during the Cuban missile crisis, strengthening ties across the Atlantic. Kennedy offends the British by canceling production of the Skybolt missile that would give them an independent nuclear deterrent.

1966: Charles de Gaulle withdraws France's defense forces from NATO command to maintain national sovereignty but stays in the alliance.

1968: The Soviet Union invades Czechoslovakia, and once again NATO is unwilling to react.

BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Cargo plane relieving blockaded Berlin (1948)

1971: President Richard Nixon abandons dollar convertibility, persuading Europeans that the U.S. will no longer act as guardian of the major international currency. NATO members show rising support for West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, a rapprochement with the Communist bloc.

1973: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's much heralded "Year of Europe" goes awry when the allies fear the U.S. may be ignoring them and dealing directly with Moscow. During the Middle East war, some NATO members strain the alliance by refusing to allow U.S. supply planes to refuel at their bases en route to Israel.

1978: President Carter postpones production of the neutron bomb after urging NATO members to accept it, another U.S. foreign policy flip-flop that leaves Europeans more confused and less certain of American leadership.

1980: The Soviets invade Afghanistan, demonstrating that détente is dead and the need for NATO greater than ever.

old Brown told TIME: "To us, allied behavior sometimes is going to be annoying, as our behavior is sometimes annoying. Allies will sometimes complain that we are not leading, and sometimes complain that we are twisting their arms. There is no action that we can take that will ever allow us to be totally free of both complaints. That's just how it is."

But the U.S. and its allies could take some steps to try to prevent a recurrence of the tensions that caused the current crisis. For the alliance to emerge stronger, it will have to take into account the changing global situation and the new power relationships among the allies. Says former Japanese Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa: "The U.S. must recognize the plurality of interests of her allies and accept the consequences." Delaware's Senator Joseph R. Biden suggests the U.S. should be prepared to share its oil supplies with allies whose flow is curtailed because they backed American policy in the Middle East. Says Biden: "If we call the tune, then we've got to be willing to pay the piper." The clock cannot be turned back to a time when America led and the others marched obediently to the American drum, nor can the U.S. rely on sheer power to drag the allies along. Says British Foreign Affairs Expert Bertram: "Friends are there for bad times, and these are bad times. But if we decide not to go to the Olympics, if we decide to break off diplomatic relations with Iran, if we decide to impose economic sanctions for the sole reason of appeasing the Americans rather than deterring the Soviets, then something is wrong with the alliance."

The easiest change for the U.S. to make will be to consult more frequently with its allies before leaping into action. Far more difficult will be the challenge of creating a consistent foreign policy that the allies can trust and use as a lodestone to plot their own courses.

For their part, the allies must try to broaden their limiting regional perspective and recognize that their first line of defense may no longer be in their backyard. They would be protecting themselves by joining the U.S. to stop Soviet threats to Southwest Asia and other strategically important regions. The European Community should streamline its cumbersome system of consulting so that it can more quickly respond to U.S. initiatives and to international challenges. Together the U.S. and its partners should do some contingency planning for Third World crises. Says Bertram: "If the crisis had been over Berlin and not Afghanistan, the alliance would have immediately known what to do."

The dispute between the allies that erupted publicly last week left officials in every allied capital worried about the future of the alliance. Mirrored in the series of events were the weaknesses—as well as some of the strengths—of the ties binding the free world's major powers. Says Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a former aide of Henry Kissinger and now a scholar at Washington's Brookings Institution: "The alliance is going through a period of adjustment out of which new practices and perceptions will grow. There is a potential for new strength but the danger of discord and weakness is greater."

Last week, with protests and promises still ringing across the oceans, Brzezinski summed up the problems facing the alliance. The U.S. certainly must continue to pursue its leadership role, he said, which inevitably "creates frictions, and we acknowledge it. But without such a role for the U.S., there will be no action. Therefore, we are prepared to accept friction as a necessary preliminary to a collective response that needs to be made. At the same time, we must be careful not to force our allies into positions where their vital interests are jeopardized. This dilemma, the recognition of diversity and the need for common action, will be with us for years to come." ■

Carter emphasizing a point about Iran at his press conference in Washington

Next Step: Military Action

An end of goatskins, rugs and patience

With Iran showing no sign of yielding up the hostages, Jimmy Carter made it plain last week that he was closer than ever to taking military action. At his press conference the President icily announced his latest "nonviolent but punitive steps" and warned: "If this additional set of sanctions and the concerted action of our allies is not successful, then the only next step available that I can see would be some sort of military action, which is the prerogative and the right of the U.S. under these circumstances." The steps will squeeze Iran, but only slightly. He ordered a ban on:

▸ Financial transfers between the U.S. and Iran, except for journalists and members of the hostages' families.

▸ Imports from Iran, which once totaled $3 billion a year but have been reduced to a sprinkling of dates, goatskins and Persian rugs.

▸ Travel by Americans to Iran, except for journalists. (At week's end Barbara Timm, mother of Hostage Kevin Hermening, defied the ban by flying to Tehran; the Administration made no effort to stop her.)

In addition, $300 million worth of military equipment purchased by Iran but impounded because of the hostage crisis will be turned over to the U.S. Defense Department or sold to other countries. Carter also will ask for legislation to use some of the $8 billion in Iranian assets that he froze in November to make reparations to the hostages and their families and to reimburse the U.S. for the $500 million a year it costs to maintain a naval task force in the Indian Ocean.

Carter considered taking two other steps against Iran. One was to ban food and drug sales, which are minuscule; the other was to seek an international ban on Iran's telecommunications with the outside world. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance argued vigorously against both moves in a last-minute appeal to the President, who finally agreed to postpone them.

Last week Carter also vowed that he would never "apologize to terrorists" for U.S. conduct in Iran as a means of helping to free the hostages. If his hand is forced, Carter is considering the mining of Iranian ports and trade routes and views this as preferable to a naval blockade. Explains a top Carter adviser: "If we blockade, we may have to fire on a ship and the potential for miscalculation is high. If you mine, you don't make the mistake yourself. We have no doubt of our ability to do it and to keep the ports closed. Even if the Iranians cranked up their F-14s, we'd certainly shoot them down." ■

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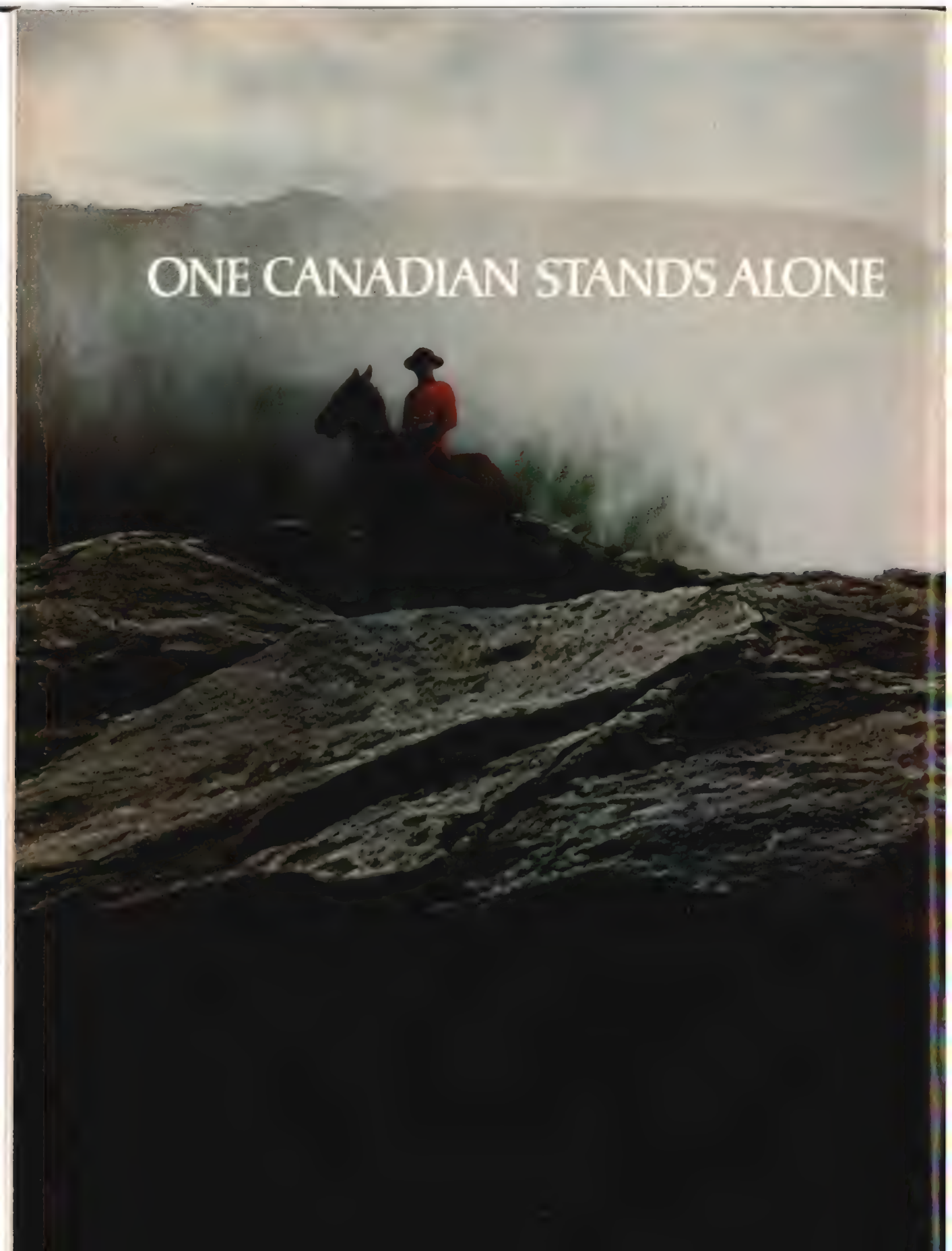
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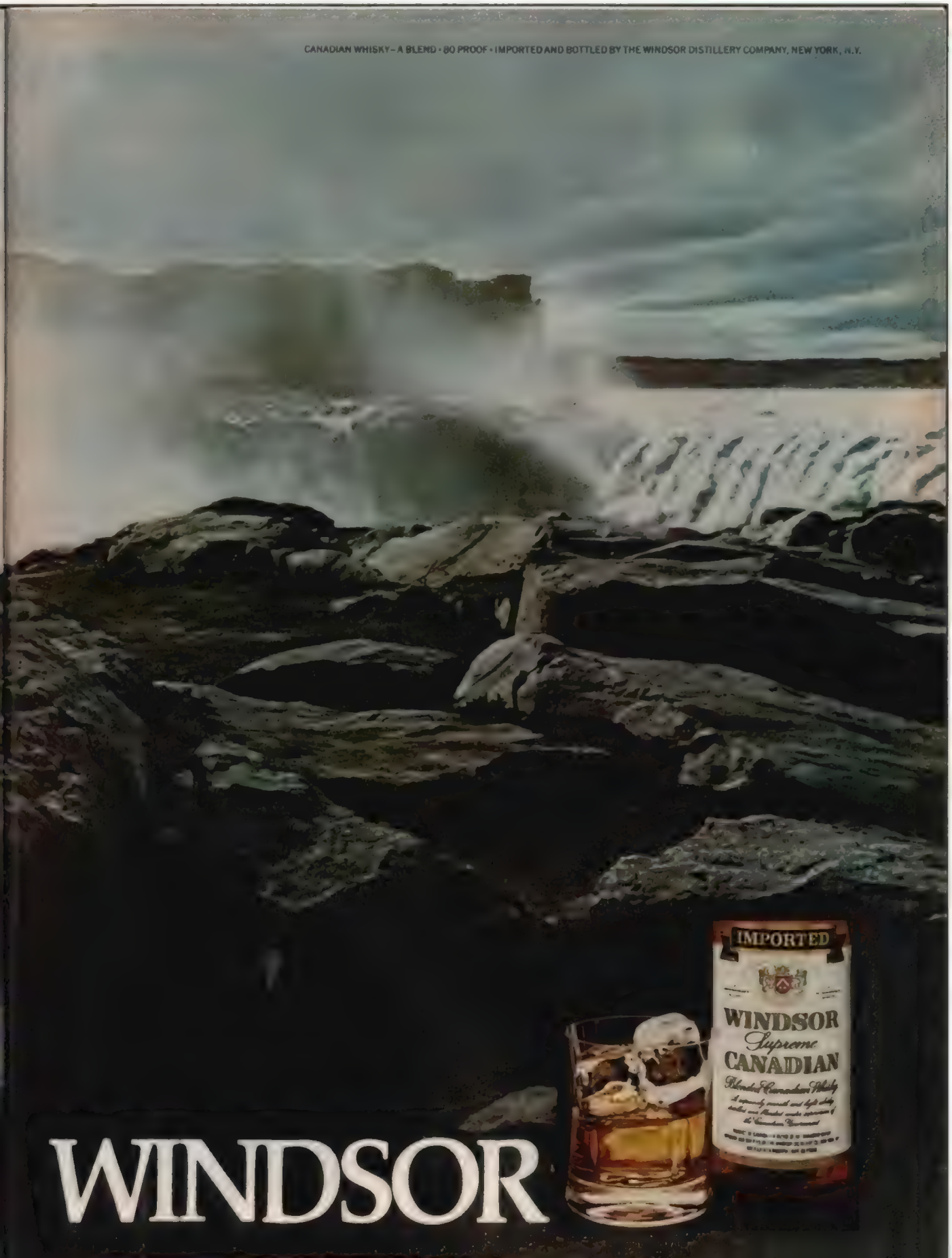
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An Agreement Only to Talk

Begin makes no concessions on the Palestinians

Winston Churchill once observed that "jaw-jaw is better than war-war." Jimmy Carter last week showed that he accepted this advice. Playing host to Israeli Premier Menachem Begin in Washington, a week after conferring with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Carter won an agreement that the two sides would keep talking, on an accelerated schedule, about autonomy for the Arabs living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. That was all: there was no breakthrough whatever on substantive issues —but then, Carter did not seek any.

That he did not came as a relief to Begin. The Israeli Premier flew to Washington expecting to be pressed hard for concessions. He had indeed prepared a one-page, unyielding summary of Israeli positions that he handed to Carter at the start of their seven hours of intensive discussions, spread over two days. And, speaking to American Jewish leaders in Washington, Begin insisted that Jews have "an inherent and eternal right" to establish settlements in the West Bank.

Though Carter on many previous occasions has assailed the Israeli settlement policy as a "hindrance" to peace, he did not raise the issue in his talks with Begin. Nor did he respond to the other points in Begin's memo, even when the Israeli Premier asked him to do so. "Let's ask Sadat," Carter murmured.

What emerged from the meetings was an agreement that Israeli and Egyptian representatives will begin nonstop talks on West Bank–Gaza autonomy next week and continue them for the 40 days remaining until May 26, when, under the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, the two sides are supposed to come to an agreement. Sadat earlier had proposed the marathon negotiations and asked that they be held in Washington. Begin, fearing that his representatives would be subjected to U.S. arm twisting, would not agree; he proposed that the talks be held for 20 days in Israel, then for the next 20 days in Egypt. He won; Carter agreed and so did Sadat.* Israel and Egypt could keep talking after May 26, but the Egyptians are extremely unwilling to do so.

Otherwise, nothing was settled on the substantive questions. The most important is what authority will be exercised by a self-governing council to be elected by the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza. As Carter noted in his press conference last week, "If we can accomplish that, then the details of exactly how to administer land and water rights and how to administer other specific elements of security, like controlling terrorism, I think will be resolved without delay." Sadat wants the council to act as a legislature. Begin is adamantly opposed, contending that the council should have only narrow administrative functions. Making it a legislature, he believes, would lay the groundwork for a Palestinian state that might harbor terrorists, whom he described to American Jewish leaders as "two-legged beasts." If Israel does not retain full control over security in the occupied territories, he said, "peace itself would be murdered."

There was a brief flurry of hope in the Administration last week that the basic questions could be evaded temporarily by referring them to a "continuing committee" provided for by the Camp David accords. The thinking went that Egypt and Israel could sign something by May 26, and even permit the election of a self-governing council with its powers to be spelled out later. Begin promptly squashed that speculation. He insisted, and Carter's aides reluctantly agreed, that the committee would be able to decide only relatively minor questions, like water rights; the authority of a Palestinian council would have to be agreed to in advance by Israel and Egypt before it could be elected.

How difficult that may be is illustrated by some Egyptian tales of Israeli intransigence. Egyptian Premier Mustafa Khalil has complained that when Egypt proposed that the Palestinians run their own health clinics, the Israelis protested that doing so would pose a security risk. Their reasoning: if an epidemic broke out in the West Bank, it could spread into Israel; thus Israel must continue to run the clinics. Similarly, according to Khalil, the Israelis asserted that the Palestinians could not be allowed to operate their own radio-TV broadcasting network for security reasons. While these stories are obviously one-sided, they do show the multitude of matters that must be settled in defining what Palestinian autonomy means.

There remains the possibility that Carter and Sadat soon will be dealing not with Begin but with a successor. Begin's popularity is slipping badly in Israel, both because of domestic concerns (the primary one is triple-digit inflation) and because of his stand on the peace negotiations. Polls last week found that only 21% of the Israelis queried think he is the best man for the job, though no one else tops that figure. Moreover, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, whose popularity is second to Begin's in the government, asserted in a bombshell interview on Israeli TV that because Begin's Cabinet had lost the confidence of the public, it should resign. Such a move would force new elections long before the term of the present Israeli parliament runs out in late 1981, but it is unlikely to occur. Weizman was immediately condemned by Housing Minister David Levy as a "deep disappointment," and a clamor for his resignation arose.

Strained though the relations between them are, Weizman and Begin cooperated on one project last week that demonstrated the explosive tension in the Middle East. As Begin was flying back to Israel Friday morning, Weizman launched Israeli forces on a seaborne raid against a headquarters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in the southern Lebanese town of Sarafand. The Israelis blew up houses where they said terrorists were being trained. Palestinian sources reported that 18 people were killed: six P.F.L.P. fighters, three children and nine adult civilians. ■

DAVID BURNETT

Holding a copy of the Camp David accords, Begin discusses strategy while flying to the U.S.

Carter accepted Winston Churchill's advice that "jaw-jaw is better than war-war."

*Actually, because the talks will not begin until April 27, only 30 days are left, not 40

"Squeeze, Cut and Trim"

As Governor, Reagan did just that—to his own ideas

"Horns begin to grow as soon as I cross the Mississippi," jokes Ronald Reagan to top aides who fret about his image, particularly among Easterners, as an inflexible ultraconservative. Most Americans want their next President to have right-wing principles, argues a Reagan adviser, but also to be "reasonable and able to recognize when it is necessary to make an exception" to conservative tenets. Reagan, in fact, demonstrated just that ability when he was Governor of California from 1967 to 1975. As Jimmy Carter and the nation have learned, a man's record as Governor provides only limited insight into how he would perform in the far more difficult role of President. Still, Reagan's conduct in the Governor's office did at least demonstrate that his conservative bark often carried little bite when he tackled the practical problems of governing his state. TIME Los Angeles Bureau Chief William Rademaekers and Correspondent Paul A. Witteman have reviewed the Reagan record as Governor. Their report:

Reagan holding cowpoke's "good guy" white hat at Western Governors Conference in 1967

He worked hard during business hours, then went home promptly at 6 p.m.

Reagan swept Democratic Governor Pat Brown out of office by nearly 1 million votes, largely on his vow to "squeeze, cut and trim" state spending, taxes and payrolls, much as he now promises to reduce the federal budget if elected President. Yet during his two terms in Sacramento, Reagan did none of those things.

His failures were not entirely his fault. A Governor, like a President, is partially a captive of the situations he inherits. Pat Brown's legacy to Reagan was a state budget deficit of $194 million. This was the result of eight years in which state spending soared from $2.14 billion a year to $4.65 billion. In the same period, the number of full-time civil service employees jumped from 70,000 to 102,000.

Arriving in the state capital to take his first and only elective public office, Reagan had no veteran advisers on whom to rely. Recalls Lyn Nofziger, Reagan's press secretary at the time: "His campaign was run by hired people who then walked away and left it. When he was elected, the big question was, 'My God, what do we do now?' "

What Reagan did often ran contrary to his campaign oratory. Instead of cutting taxes, he solved the budget deficit with the largest tax increase in California's history: a $1 billion jolt, and that was only the beginning. By the time he left office eight years later, he had added $21 billion to the state's tax revenues. Under Reagan, the state's income tax rose from a maximum of 7% to 11% for individuals, and from 5.5% to 9% for corporations. He also increased the state sales tax from 4% to 6%. Facing a state legislature dominated by Democrats in six of his eight years as Governor, he repeatedly opposed legislative proposals to institute the withholding of state income tax from paychecks. Said Reagan in 1969: "The only way I would support withholding is if they held a burning blowtorch to my feet." No one did, but Reagan nonetheless changed his mind and in 1971 signed a tax withholding law.

The Reagan tax increases helped set the stage for California's emotional Proposition 13 tax revolt in 1978, three years after he left office. As Governor he avoided taxpayer retaliation by turning to a politically popular gimmick. As budget surpluses grew because of his high taxes and the state's general prosperity, Reagan retained the heavy taxation but gave some of the unneeded revenues back to Californians as rebates and tax credits. The income tax rebate in 1970 was $91 million; a 20% income tax credit in 1972 totaled some $235 million; another rebate in 1973 added up to $405 million. Even with the rebates, the high tax revenues permitted Reagan to leave office with a budget surplus of $554 million. Complains John Schmitz, a conservative Republican state senator who had been dismayed by many of Reagan's fiscal policies: "He didn't do any slashing here. We didn't need all that money."

Reagan did no better than Pat Brown in holding down state spending; he let it more than double, from $4.65 billion a year to $10.27 billion. And while he sharply curtailed the increase in full-time state employees, he did not cut the total.

Reagan's rhetoric was more right wing than his record on many other issues. He talked tough about combating crime, re-established capital punishment and stiffened sentences for rape, robbery and burglary. But the state's prison population declined during his first five years in office, from 27,000 inmates to 19,000, primarily because of a more lenient parole policy; when he left office, the state had 24,000 people in its prisons.

His 1971 welfare changes effectively cut the number of recipients by some 400,000, while actually increasing the benefits for those needing help the most. A mother with three children, for example, had her monthly welfare check increased from $176 to $311. Reagan now boasts of this cutback in the rolls, but he does not mention that the number had grown by 1.1 million during his first four years in office. One of his ways to get freeloaders off welfare was to require some recipients to work part time, without pay, on community improvement projects.

On another social issue, Reagan was far from conservative as Governor: he signed one of the most liberal state abortion laws in the nation at the time. As a result, the number of reported abortions in California rose from 518 in 1967 to more than 600,000 between 1968 and 1974 —some 200,000 of them financed from public funds. Reagan now generally opposes publicly funded abortions. On another sensitive issue still dividing conservatives and liberals, Reagan in Sacramento took the liberal side: he strongly supported the Equal Rights Amendment, which the California legislature

ratified in 1972. He now opposes the amendment.

Reagan gained national attention as Governor by insisting that the University of California get tough with anti-Viet Nam War protesters. One of his first moves was to persuade the university's board of regents to fire President Clark Kerr, who had helped build what was generally regarded as the nation's best state system of public universities but had not stopped the radicals from disrupting campus life. Reagan also succeeded in imposing the university's first tuition charge ($50 a quarter) "so that those there to agitate and not study might think twice before they pay." Reagan contended that "the State of California has no business subsidizing intellectual curiosity." Many professors retorted that this is precisely what a university is supposed to do.

Typically, Reagan did not push this quarrel to its practical conclusion. Instead of making good on his threat to cut back state support of the university system, he permitted its annual budget to grow from $240 million to $509 million in eight years. He approved a 190% increase in state support of California's public colleges and hiked state aid to local schools by 119%. Many California educators now rate Reagan's successor, Jerry Brown, as more tightfisted and tougher to deal with than Reagan.

Another liberal group surprised by Reagan's policies was California's environmentalists. Reagan had protested that "there seems to be an organized, well-financed lobby that is determined to preserve the natural habitat and comfort of every species except man." But he established an air-resources board and gave it ample power to enforce stiff antipollution standards. He signed smog control laws more stringent than federal requirements. His rigid water pollution controls angered leaders of industry. He set aside an additional 145,000 acres of park lands, including 41 miles of expensive ocean front. He blocked a reservoir that would have submerged the ancestral burial grounds of several Indian tribes. On balance, even liberal groups like Americans for Democratic Action were not displeased with most of Governor Reagan's policies. Says Shirley Wechsler of Los Angeles, national vice president of A.D.A.: "We got a better hearing from Reagan—and a better deal—than we get from Jerry Brown."

Reagan did feud with the Democratic legislators. He vetoed 994 bills—and made his vetoes stick; only one was overridden. Yet on many other issues, he first fought for conservative principles and then, when faced with deadlock or defeat, agreed to compromise. Recalls Willie Brown, an influential Democratic assemblyman from San Francisco: "He showed a willingness to accept collective decisions without serious ego problems. He does not measure his self-worth by whether an idea is his or not."

One of Reagan's strengths as Governor was his ability to assemble a staff of

Signing death penalty bill in 1973

Curious stand on intellectual curiosity.

experienced advisers and department heads and to delegate considerable authority to them. He embraced an aide's scheme of "mini-memos," four-paragraph briefs setting out 1)the nature of a problem, 2) the basic facts involved, 3) terse arguments for and against various options, and 4) the staff recommendation on what to do. At the bottom were boxes for Reagan to check yes or no. While critics claimed that this showed Reagan's inability or unwillingness to grapple with complex issues, the procedure did speed up decisions.

The mini-memos also helped Reagan avoid one of his weaknesses as Governor: his tendency to become bored when issues lingered too long. Indeed, while he worked hard at his job during business hours, he normally left for home promptly at 6 p.m. He would often join Wife Nancy for a vodka collins or vodka-and-tonic at their Sacramento home. After a shower, Reagan would usually change into pajamas, eat dinner, and then watch such favorite TV programs as *Bonanza* and *Mission: Impossible*. Nancy insisted that he get a full night's sleep; he normally retired by 10 p.m.

While Reagan was totally relaxed offstage, he could fire up Californians when he took his arguments directly to the people via television, as he often did. Still, many of the decisions Governors must make are controversial and create enemies. While in office, Reagan won from Californians an approval rating that ranged from a low of 28% to a high of 42%. Earlier this month the California poll asked state residents to look back and rate Reagan's stewardship in Sacramento once again. Filtered through five-year-old memories, a majority (51%) now give Reagan high marks for the way he governed the state. ■

Garden Thorns

It isn't all roses for Jimmy

"We all have to wonder and fear where we will be after four more years of the Carter Administration." This sort of taunt, shouted by Senator Edward Kennedy at the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO convention last week, is stirring considerable anxiety in the White House.

The President and his aides have no fear that Kennedy will somehow snatch away the Democratic nomination. Whatever the outcome of this week's Pennsylvania primary, Jimmy Carter's lead in delegates still looks insurmountable. But the President's aides fret that if Kennedy carries his challenge all the way to the convention in August, his increasingly sharp attacks will undermine Carter among traditionally Democratic voting groups whose support the President must retain to win re-election.

One warning signal for Carter was sounded at the Arizona caucuses on April 12. Kennedy took 55% of the vote, and probably will win 16 delegates to Carter's 13. While those numbers are small—and were partly offset by Carter's apparent win of eight delegates to Kennedy's five in Idaho's caucuses last week—White House strategists noted that Kennedy scored heavily among Arizona's Hispanics. Similarly, in Pennsylvania, Kennedy's crowds of working-class whites and blacks were larger and more enthusiastic than the audiences that showed up for Carter's surrogates, principally Rosalynn and Vice President Walter Mondale.

Philadelphia Democrats not only gave Kennedy a warm reception but turned down an offer to hear Carter's campaign chairman, Robert Strauss. Said a local party leader: "We don't want anyone from the B team." Carter's advisers also fear that contributions may dry up. His re-election committee has raised $13 million but spent it all, and aides estimate they will need an additional $4 million for the remaining caucuses and primary campaigns.

To counter the damage, some aides urged Carter at a strategy session earlier this month to begin campaigning, at least in a few nonprimary states. Carter refused the advice. He sounded a little regretful of his pledge not to campaign actively until the hostages are freed, but he was unwilling to reverse himself. Several aides privately found his refusal stubborn and illogical. The President would permit them only to state publicly that he will not stay in the Rose Garden indefinitely: after the Democratic convention in August, he will come out and campaign. ■

Ted in Philadelphia

Preparing for the Plunge

John Anderson decides about running as an independent

The planning is still in a primitive stage, the odds enormously long, the obstacles numerous and towering. Nonetheless, barring an unlikely last-second change of heart, John Anderson will announce this week that he is giving up his hopeless quest for the Republican nomination and running as an independent candidate for the White House.

Anderson knows the odds he faces. Never has an independent won election as President of the U.S. But the candidate reasons that "these are unusual times, with lots of strange currents" and that he therefore has a realistic chance of winning.

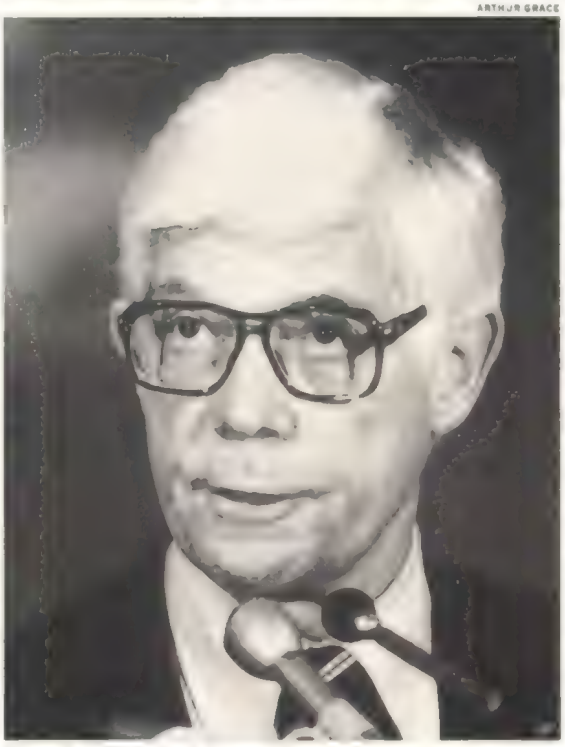
He has ruminated about an independent candidacy ever since his shattering loss in the Illinois primary March 18. Two weeks ago he asked Political Consultant David Garth, a New Yorker with a reputation for running winning campaigns, to form an exploratory committee to look into the legal and political problems of an independent candidacy. Then last week Anderson canceled scheduled campaign appearances in Tennessee, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania to rest and reflect at home in Washington. He needed the time off. After ten months of intensive campaigning, he looked tired and his normally booming orator's voice sounded soft.

Anderson resolved many of his doubts in a series of family dinners with his wife Keke and their five children, and in phone calls to "professors and politicians around the country." He was impressed by polls—especially one taken in late March for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly and White Inc. —showing that more than half the registered voters are disenchanted with a choice between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan.

Moreover, though the latest polls, including a New York *Times*–CBS News survey released last week, show Anderson as an independent with the support of only 18% to 20% of the voters, the polls indicate that he would take those votes about equally from Carter and Reagan. Anderson has said several times that he would not run if the effect of his candidacy would be to help Reagan, whom he has criticized with growing vehemence during the campaign as too conservative. But Anderson told TIME National Political Correspondent John Stacks: "I think we have demolished the argument that my candidacy would elect Reagan."

By midweek, Anderson had reaffirmed one critical decision: if he did go, it would be as a total independent rather than a third-party candidate. That would enable him to skip the time-consuming and expensive chore of organizing a party, selecting delegates and holding a convention. But Garth and other advisers urged that he wait a few more weeks before making his final decision. They argued that the prestigious Washington law firm of Arnold & Porter, which Garth had hired, needed more time to answer the most pressing question of Anderson's campaign: In how many states does he stand a realistic chance of getting on the November ballot?

ARTHUR GRACE



Weary but determined, the candidate prepares to announce

Facing barriers that even Teddy Roosevelt could not conquer

That is a severe problem in some key states. In both Michigan and his native Illinois, Anderson cannot be listed as an independent but has to meet state qualifications for a third-party candidacy. In Michigan, under present law, he must collect 18,000 signatures from several congressional districts by May 5; in Illinois he will have to form a party that will also run candidates for Vice President, U.S. Senator and the University of Illinois board of trustees. Even so, the consensus among experts on election laws is that Anderson can qualify in enough states to have a mathematical chance of winning the 270 electoral votes needed to gain the presidency. Anderson already has missed the filing deadlines for independent candidates in five states with 52 electoral votes: Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, New Mexico and Ohio. He must, and will, file petitions by this week's deadline for putting his name on the New Jersey ballot in November. While that step is not irrevocable, he apparently feels it will bring him so close to a formal candidacy that he might as well go all the way and make his announcement.

By running as an independent, Anderson will be barred from continuing to collect federal matching funds. By law, the cash can go only to the candidates of established parties during the campaign; under the Federal Election Commission's interpretation of the statute, some third-party candidates, but not independents, can pick up matching money after the votes are counted. However, Anderson's fund raisers have put together an imposing mailing list of potential contributors, and appeals to them have drawn donations from as many as 5%, a startling figure (2% to 3% is regarded by experts as good). Anderson says he can raise $10 million to $12 million, which he believes "would be enough" for a respectable campaign.

Getting on the ballot and raising money are only the immediate, pressing problems; the deeper one is the tendency of voters, even if they admire a third-party or independent candidate, to write off his cause as hopeless on Election Day and cast their ballots for the Democratic or Republican nominee. Anderson is well aware of the discouraging history of third-party and independent candidacies. He has resolved that he will drop out by fall, if his candidacy seems to be turning into a "spoiler" operation, in which his campaign becomes only a nuisance to the established candidates.

But for now, Anderson is talking long-shot optimism. An analysis delivered to him a few days ago indicates that he has an outside chance if he can draw to the polls millions of people who otherwise would not vote. He thinks it is possible to do that because of disillusionment with the choice between Carter and Reagan. His goal is to bring about a party realignment. He muses that if he wins the White House he will form a new organization that would be a kind of centrist Republican Party under a new name, leaving the official Republican Party to the far right. Says he: "This is a very, very unusual period of history, and that makes it an opportunity to strengthen the System. What we have now is a one-and-a-half party system. We need two strong centrist parties." ■

Alaska Bonanza

A state shares its royalties

While millions of Americans trudged unhappily off to post offices last week to meet the deadlines for paying state and federal income taxes, Alaskans were grinning. They learned that same day that some 270,000 of them will get checks averaging $1,000 each from the state government. The source of the cash bonanza: the royalties that Alaska collects on oil pumped in the state. They are soaring unexpectedly this year by an estimated $760 million, to a projected total of $3 billion. But instead of finding new ways to spend the windfall, Governor Jay S. Hammond and state legislators decided to give it to Alaska's citizens.

Thus by the end of the year, most Alaskan taxpayers will get two different kinds of checks: 1) refunds on state income taxes already paid and 2) dividends from the state's oil revenue fund, in which unspent royalties have been invested since the first big oil-lease sale in 1969. Residents will get $50 for each year they have lived in Alaska since statehood in 1959. That means oldtimers whose residency dates back at least to then will receive $1,050.

But that is not all. In addition to the money to be distributed to residents this year, future state income tax obligations will be abolished for anyone who has paid such taxes in Alaska for at least three years since 1959. Residents who have filed returns for only one or two years will get substantial tax cuts. In effect, the state income tax will end this year for about 70% of Alaska's wage earners, while 20% will qualify for reduced taxes.

Nor is there any end in sight to the flow of dividends from the oil fund, which by the end of this year is expected to total more than $1 billion. Since it is invested in stocks, bonds and other securities, the fund could prove even more profitable than expected, and future legislatures might increase the $50-a-year formula. Oil price increases could also continue to swell the fund. While most Americans complain bitterly every time OPEC members raise prices, Alaskans have reason to applaud. With the price of domestic oil now decontrolled, Alaskan crude can rise to the world level; thus the state's royalties will grow with each foreign price hike.

An oil derrick on Prudhoe Bay; inset: Governor Jay Hammond

Alaska's good fortune is also a political plus for Republican Hammond, who called the refund and oil dividend package "ultimately the most important legislation ever enacted" in his state. He added, "Some people call this socialistic, but it really is very conservative. The idea is to let the public decide how they want to use their money."

In its new-found affluence, the state legislature has even enacted a measure to help its ailing housing industry and all those residents wishing to buy new homes. The legislators voted to set aside $105 million to subsidize banks willing to issue mortgages at interest rates as low as 8½% for war veterans and 9½% for others. Without this state subsidy, mortgage rates were running as high as 17%. The loans were snapped up so readily that the fund ran dry in just 45 days. The legislators are now debating whether to put more money into the program.

But even the handing out of cash has a price. As they apply for their checks, Alaskans will have to fill out some 1.2 million forms. The cost of the applications and the manpower required to process them is estimated at nearly $2 million over the next twelve months. There is one other minor hitch: the U.S. Internal Revenue Service will insist that those tax rebates and oil fund dividends be reported as income—and thus Washington too will benefit from Alaska's governmental generosity. ■

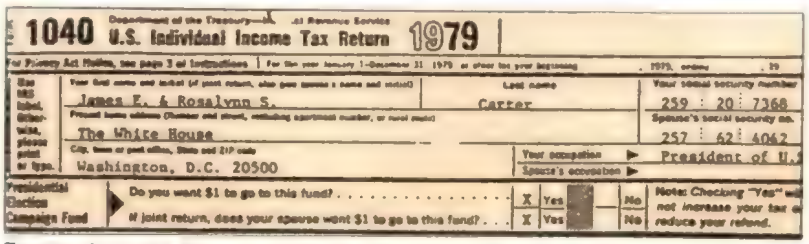
Out of the Club

Carter's not worth a million

On top of his other troubles, Jimmy Carter revealed last week that he is no longer a millionaire. He enjoyed that heady status in 1978, but his 1979 personal income tax return puts his net worth at $893,304.35, or nearly $113,000 less than in 1978. In part, his own economic policies are to blame for the tumble. Like other Americans, he was savaged by soaring interest rates; payments on a peanut sheller, which are pegged at 1½ percentage points above the prime rate (now about 20%), caused him to suffer a $79,609.52 loss from the family business that is held in trust for him by his Georgia pal, Charles Kirbo.

Carter also had some good news; he is getting a $16,703.50 refund from his federal income tax. He earned $275,136.75, including his salary and expense allowance of $237,499.98 as President and $22,670.53 in interest from Kirbo-managed investments. But in addition to his business loss, Carter claimed $43,090.64 in deductions, including $15,438.50 for gifts to charity, $45.04 in credit card interest and $15.53 in postage. As presidential business expenses, he listed only $1,703.46—$534 on meals for guests at the White House, $639 for staff parties, $288.96 for gifts and $240 for refreshments. He ended up with a tax bill of $64,944.81.

Is Carter's likely Republican opponent, Ronald Reagan, still a millionaire? Only Reagan knows for sure, since he refuses "as a matter of principle" to reveal his tax return. It would set a "bad precedent," he explains, "for people in public office to have to expose themselves more than a private citizen." ■



1040 U.S. Individual Income Tax Return 1979

Your first name and initial: James E. & Rosalynn S. | Last name: Carter | Your social security number: 259 : 20 : 7368

Present home address: The White House | Spouse's social security no.: 257 : 62 : 4062

City, town or post office, State and ZIP code: Washington, D.C. 20500 | Your occupation: President of U.S.

Presidential Election Campaign Fund: Do you want $1 to go to this fund? X Yes — No. If joint return, does your spouse want $1 to go to this fund? X Yes — No. Note: Checking "Yes" will not increase your tax or reduce your refund.

To voters he may be Jimmy, but to the tax collector he is James E. Carter

ZIMBABWE

Festive Birth of a Nation

A new vision for new hearts, and lots of problems after a long war

Africa's 51st independent state was born at a midnight ceremony that was almost like a love-in. Representatives of 96 nations, headed by Britain's Prince Charles, were among the 40,000 spectators* who jammed a football stadium in Salisbury (soon to be renamed Harare, after a famed tribal chief), as the Union Jack was lowered for the last time in what had been Rhodesia. In its place rose the multistriped banner of Zimbabwe. To honor the historic occasion, there were tribal dances and a parade that seemed to symbolize the peaceful end to seven years of civil war: white Rhodesian soldiers marched smartly into the stadium alongside fatigues-clad black guerrillas whom they had fought for so long. There was a brief moment of magic when Prime Minister Robert Mugabe lit an eternal flame to commemorate the 27,000 people of his new nation who had died during the war.

In a speech to the nation shortly before the ceremony, Mugabe once again vowed his government's commitment to peace and reconciliation. "Tomorrow we are born again," he said, "born again collectively as a nation of Zimbabweans. Our new mind must have a new vision and our hearts a new love and a new spirit that must unite and not divide." Some of his words were explicitly addressed to the country's 200,000 whites. "If yesterday I fought you as my enemy," he said, "today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest." Mugabe graciously praised Lord Soames, the British governor who had ruled the country from the cease-fire through the elections and until independence, as "a great man, good friend and counselor."

The festive mood was marred by only a few minor incidents. Two people were killed and 27 wounded by a grenade thrown by youths in a township outside the capital; 234 inmates overpowered their jailers and escaped from Salisbury's Central Prison. Nonetheless, the majority of Zimbabweans, black or white, probably agreed with Soames' assessment that "this has been nothing less than a series of miracles. The greatest among them is that there is now the positive promise of rebuilding this country, with Mr. Mugabe encouraging everyone to help."

Just how the new government intends to shape the future of the war-torn nation remains unclear. Mugabe has announced few specific policies, and according to several Cabinet members, will probably not do so fully for another six months. But there is no doubt about his most urgent priorities: removing all racist institutions, reconstructing the country's devastated rural areas and redressing the present 10-to-1 ratio between white and black incomes.

The government is considering some partial nationalization programs, like reclaiming ownership of mineral lands but leasing the mining operations back to their present white managements. Also under study are plans to establish self-sufficient agricultural cooperatives on newly acquired land. But Mugabe has renounced the idea of sweeping nationalization and expropriations. "We have recognized that this is a capitalistic country," he declared last week, adding inscrutably that "you cannot nationalize the structure and hope to achieve the goals of socialism."

Mugabe's goals will be especially hard to achieve in the wake of a ruinous war. The country is virtually bankrupt and in debt to white-ruled South Africa for $350 million. The war turned nearly 850,000 into homeless refugees, many of whom live in the rubber-tent slums of urban shanty towns. An extra 170,000 refugees remain in Mozambique and Zambia. More than half the schools have been closed, and nearly 420,000 school-age blacks are uneducated. A third of the 3 million African-

*Among the missing was former Prime Minister Ian Smith, said to be on a speaking tour of South Africa. The Soviet Union sent a low-level delegation. But conspicuously absent were envoys from East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. As proof of his determination that Zimbabwe will remain nonaligned, Mugabe had not invited them.

Lord Carrington (left) and Soames (center) look on as Mugabe embraces Zimbabwe's President, Canaan Banana

PETER JORDAN

A guest of honor: Prince Charles reviewing guard of air force officers after arriving at Salisbury airport

owned herd has been lost through disease and theft. The normally abundant corn crop has been savaged by severe drought; about 200,000 people are dependent on emergency Red Cross food shipments.

The cost of repairing war damage and financing development is now estimated to be $3 billion, much of which will have to come from foreign aid. Yet hard-cash pledges from the West have fallen far short of that goal. Britain is the largest donor; it has promised to give $166.5 million over the next three years. The U.S. will provide only $15 million this year, and is seeking between $25 million and $30 million for fiscal 1981. The United Nations has offered $140 million in refugee aid. Pondering these modest sums, a few Mugabe associates wonder ironically whether this is the result of the Prime Minister's moderation. As one senior government figure put it, "If we had turned to Moscow after the election, I assure you we would have been drowning in dollars and pounds now."

Yet Zimbabwe is far better off than neighboring Zambia and Mozambique. Naturally endowed with fertile soil and abundant mineral resources, the country also has a strong manufacturing sector, developed after international sanctions were imposed following the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence. With the trade boycott lifted, economists predict that the economy will grow by 3% this year and by 8% in 1981.

Perhaps the gravest threat to his regime comes from the 84,000 armed men, in both the guerrilla and conventional forces, who must be fashioned into a single national army of no more than 24,000. This means finding new jobs and persuading thousands of seasoned fighters to relinquish their arms. The first ambitious efforts to integrate the rival armies have had mixed results; some training camps have reported persistent tensions and disciplinary problems among the guerrillas. Another potential threat to future stability: about 5,500 guerrillas loyal to Joshua Nkomo, Mugabe's partner in the former Patriotic Front, refuse to return from their bases in Zambia, largely because of suspicions arising from their leader's marginal role in the new government.

The picture is hardly brighter among the regular troops of the former Rhodesian government. Some 100 middle-ranking white officers, out of 800 active during the war, have handed in their resignations. More than 900 members of the elite Selous Scouts have quit, and many of them have joined the South African Defense Forces. Not even the influence of Lieut. General Peter Walls, the Rhodesian armed forces chief who was named last week to a joint military command, has fully restored confidence among the white officer corps.

Mugabe also faces a problem in containing black expectations. Explains Eddison Zvobgo, Minister for Local Government and Housing: "Our people must understand that we are coming out of a war. This period will have to be one of belt tightening and self-reliance." No sooner had Mugabe taken office last month than his new government was hit by a series of strikes in the textile, clothing, electronics and food industries. The strikes were swiftly put down by a combination of reason and rule. After dispatching his Labor Minister on a nationwide tour to hear the workers' grievances, Mugabe angrily described their actions as "nothing short of criminal." Sounding much like a hard-nosed conservative, he declared that "the primary function of any government is to ensure the permanence of peace through the maintenance of law and order." The strikes kindled deep resentment among Mugabe's followers, some of whom charged that they had been politically inspired by labor organizers loyal to Nkomo.

No one in Mugabe's camp accuses Nkomo personally of trying to sabotage the government. But Nkomo, who is serving as Minister of Home Affairs and Police, is clearly unhappy over the shabby treatment his party has received since its electoral defeat. Only three of 24 Cabinet posts and one of 20 available Senate seats were given to Nkomo men. Party rivalries are further exacerbated by the traditional tribal enmity between Nkomo's Ndebele and Mugabe's Shona supporters. Says Willie Musarurwa, Nkomo's longtime press spokesman: "What the Prime Minister must do is make our people feel that they belong. People who have played a very strong role are being left out. The most important thing is unity."

The birth of Mugabe's Zimbabwe has stimulated a new debate in neighboring South Africa, the continent's last bastion of white minority rule. South African leaders now face mounting pressure both from within and without to dismantle apartheid and give the country's 19 million blacks a share of political power. One

New flag of a new nation, and banner hung above Salisbury street

Mozambique Turns to the West

Fresh from overseeing the settlement of Zimbabwe's independence, Lord Soames flew off to Mozambique late last month. There, in the capital of Maputo, he indicated that Britain would help President Samora Machel rebuild the war-shattered rail line from the Rhodesian border to the Mozambican port of Beira. Someone asked Machel: How did aid from capitalist Britain square with his Marxist principles? "Our Marxist principles stand," he replied, hoisting a glass of French champagne. "Don't you like drinking champagne in a Marxist country?"

No one was more relieved to see an end to the hostilities than Machel, whose country paid dearly for its support of Robert Mugabe and his guerrilla army. Now, in what seemed a surprising turnabout for an avowed socialist, Machel has launched an all-out effort to get aid from the capitalist West for his wretchedly poor people.

Mozambique is still committed to socialism in such important areas as health, education and housing, Machel told a crowd of 50,000 in Maputo last month. But, he added significantly, "the state should not be selling matches." He denounced "ultra-leftism" and the inefficiency, incompetence and petty corruption that have plagued various ministries. Next day he sacked three Cabinet ministers and, in a subsequent shuffle, appointed five whites to the Cabinet. He delivered an impassioned plea for former Portuguese settlers, now living elsewhere in Africa, to return to Mozambique and promised special business incentives for them if they did so. Even before that, Machel had been host to a delegation representing 23 multinational companies. Said he: "There is a place in our country for private external investment."

PETER JORDAN

Soames and Machel share a champagne toast

Getting the country back into shape will not be easy. Machel, 46, a onetime medical orderly, came to power as the leader of the liberation movement that led Mozambique to independence from Portugal in 1975. Despite his pleas for whites to stay, most of them fled, leaving the country bereft of technical, administrative and professional workers.

The Soviets helped arm and finance Machel's guerrilla army. After independence, an estimated 1,600 Soviet, Cuban and East German technicians and advisers arrived to take up residence. But Mozambican officials insist that their country is not a Soviet satellite. Asked what Moscow would think of Machel's overtures to the West, a young government aide exploded: "What the hell does it matter what Moscow thinks? This is our business, not Moscow's." In fact, Mozambique's largest single source of economic aid ($33 million this year) is Sweden.

For its day-to-day economic survival, Mozambique depends primarily on South Africa. Pretoria runs the railroad that links many South African inland cities to the Indian Ocean port facilities at Maputo. It also buys most of the hydroelectric power produced by Mozambique's Cabora Bassa Dam on the Zambezi River. About 35,000 Mozambican workers are employed in South Africa's gold and coal mines. Although Machel opposes South Africa's apartheid policies, he also recognizes that the two countries share a long common border. "This is a reality that can be neither ignored nor altered," he says. "Peaceful co-existence between neighboring states does not hamper the cause of peoples' liberation."

One change that has taken place since Zimbabwe's independence is in the so-called Journal of the People—blackboards situated at city street corners using cartoons to instruct Mozambicans on the government's latest concerns, strictures or admonishments, such as guarding against subversives and working hard. In the past, two of the archvillains have been former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and Uncle Sam. In these changing times, however, Mozambicans may have seen the last of both characters.

sign of the assertive new black mood is a nationwide campaign to free jailed Nationalist Leader Nelson Mandela, president of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). Even some progovernment Afrikaans newspapers and business leaders have joined with blacks in arguing that the government must negotiate with Mandela and other influential militants "before it is too late."

Steadfastly refusing to treat with Mandela, whom he calls an "arch-Marxist," South Africa's Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha nonetheless began advising his countrymen to "adapt or die" even before Mugabe's landslide victory. He endorsed certain racial reforms in the labor field and began pushing for a constitutional revision that would give nonwhites some limited political voice. But such gestures fall far short of black demands, and Botha is reluctant to press for more substantial changes in the face of strong opposition from his National Party's right wing.

Reflecting the blacks' rising impatience, the ANC has recently intensified its sporadic guerrilla attacks on police stations, banks and other targets. There is little likelihood that the scattered incidents will escalate soon into a Zimbabwe-style civil war. With its $2.8 billion defense budget and highly trained 63,250-man armed forces, South Africa seems fully capable of backing up Botha's recent warning: "Anyone planning violence had better not try it. You will rue it."

That warning was not lost on Mugabe; after his election he pledged not to give shelter or direct aid to anti-South African guerrillas. The war-weary frontline states that supported the armies of Mugabe and Nkomo are also disinclined to extend similar hospitality to the ANC. Behind their willingness to coexist with apartheid—at least for the present—lies the fact that most of southern Africa's black nations are embarrassingly dependent on commercial and transportation links with the hated Pretoria regime.

The region's next major showdown will probably take place in Namibia (South West Africa). The huge, uranium-rich territory is administered by a South African–backed minority regime in defiance of United Nations demands for black majority rule. Botha must soon give his response to a U.N. plan for free elections and a demilitarized border zone that will separate South African defense forces from the Angola-based nationalist guerrilla force known as SWAPO. Mugabe's victory has given the South Africans pause; it suggests that SWAPO would defeat Pretoria's surrogate, the multiracial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, in a one-man-one-vote contest. Botha must eventually make the tough choice between internationally supervised elections and an "internal" independence settlement that would almost certainly lead to U.N. sanctions—and an escalation of Namibia's 14-year-old nationalist struggle. ■

Rebels escort defecting Afghan soldiers; a *mujahidin* elder; below, bodies of Afghan workers executed by rebels as Soviet collaborators

AFGHANISTAN

Fierce Fight

Resisting the Soviet onslaught

Backed by armor and helicopter gunships, Soviet troops last week launched a fresh assault against Muslim rebels in eastern Afghanistan. The attacks included search-and-destroy missions against Afghan villages, the machine-gunning of unarmed civilians and even the dropping of incapacitating gas by Soviet gunships. Meanwhile, Western intelligence experts estimated, the Soviets have suffered at least 8,000 dead and wounded since last December's invasion. According to reports from Eastern Europe, some Soviet soldiers wounded in Afghanistan are now being flown directly to military hospitals in East Germany —presumably because the Kremlin does not want its own people to know the number of casualties in "Moscow's Viet Nam."

In the capital city of Kabul, there were rumors that insurgents had caused a landslide, killing 600 Afghan soldiers in a mountain encampment and destroying 40 tanks. A band of rebels reportedly crossed the border between Afghanistan and the U.S.S.R. and managed to kill 200 Soviet troops. The rebels also claimed to have exploded a newly completed copper mine in the Logar Valley and coal mines in Badakhshan. They have been putting pressure on farmers to cut back on spring planting. Partly for that reason, this year's grain crop will be only 75% of normal. When two grape growers pruned their vines, in violation of the rebels' orders, insurgents cut off the growers' ears.

The Soviets appear to be firmly in control of Kabul. Moscow-appointed advisers are in charge of most government offices, leaving Afghan employees, as one observer put it, with nothing to do but "sit around and drink tea." Outside the capital, the country is still in chaos. The exodus of refugees continues; there are an estimated 700,000 Afghans in Pakistan and 100,000 more in Iran. The demoralized Afghan army, which used to have 80,000 men, is down to 20,000 or 30,000 and suffers from the constant defection of soldiers to the rebel side.

The *mujahidin* (holy warriors) are limited by a lack of supplies, ammunition and even food, but they fight on with remarkable tenacity. On assignment for TIME, Photographer Steve McCurry accompanied a band of rebels on a raid near Jalalabad, the capital of Nangarhar province. About a mile from the University of Nangarhar, the rebels attacked a convoy of Afghan army trucks and captured three members of a military road-repair crew. Two tanks joined the skirmish on the army side, but the rebels fought on all afternoon, even after one of their number had been killed. That night, the rebels slipped away and marched for six hours to the village of their slain comrade. Next morning, before the burial ceremony for the dead rebel, they staged a "trial" and summarily executed their three prisoners. The charge: collaborating with the Soviet enemy. ■

CUBA

Start of a Mass Exodus

With cries of "Libertad!" *the first refugees fly out*

Tired and pale-faced, they straggled into the air terminal shortly after sunrise and headed for the immigration desks. Each one of the 157 visitors carried a new gray Cuban passport, but little else. As they waited in line, some broke into chants of *"Libertad! Libertad!"* (Liberty) and *"Abajo, Fidel!"* (Down with Fidel). "I've been standing in line waiting for something all my life," said a 22-year-old man. "This, I hope, is my last line."

Such was the scene at Juan Santamaría Airport in San José, Costa Rica, one morning last week as a planeload of refugees arrived from Cuba. They were among the estimated 10,800 who had crowded into the Peruvian embassy in Havana two weeks ago after Cuban authorities temporarily removed their guards from the embassy gates and triggered a rush inside by asylum seekers who wished to leave the island. Reluctantly, Cuban authorities agreed to grant exit visas, a few hundred at a time.

Peru, which consented to accept 1,000 of the refugees, pleaded that other countries take the rest; by the end of last week, seven nations had agreed to admit 5,950 of the exiles. The U.S., which has taken in 800,000 Cubans since Fidel Castro first gained power in 1959, planned to accept 3,500, the largest single group. To speed the exodus, Costa Rica helped to organize an airlift of mercy flights for the first leg out of Havana and to serve as an initial screening site for the refugees. The evacuation plan called for two Lacsa (Lineas Aereas de Costa Rica) jets to fly to Havana each night and then return to San José early the next morning. The airlift worked for two days, but on the third day Costa Rican officials abruptly suspended the flights at Havana's request; Cuban officials reportedly insisted that the refugees be flown directly to the countries accepting them. By then 678 exiles had been flown to Costa Rica

Though they had been denounced by Cuban authorities as "delinquents, bums, parasites and drug addicts," the refugees turned out to represent a wide cross-section of Cuban society. Most were workers and farmers; there were also doctors, artists and journalists. Each had a tale of hardship to tell about the jammed 20-acre embassy compound, where many spent nearly two weeks. The buildings and grounds were so crowded that dozens had to sleep on the roof, linking elbows together for fear of falling to the ground.

STREET - CAMERA'S

Jubilant Cuban refugees cheering after their arrival in Costa Rica

An ailing exile is helped from plane

"This, I hope, is my last line."

Hungry refugees ate the garden's papaya tree—leaves, trunk and all—as well as several cats and at least one dog. Said Edmundo Navarro Cremati, 37, a translator who fled with his wife and ten-year-old son: "It wasn't living. It was hell."

When the refugees arrived at the Havana airport for the flights, they were forced to run a gauntlet of 300 screaming pro-Castro demonstrators, who cursed and sometimes beat them as they passed The demonstrators also pounced on the refugees' possessions. "They took everything," said Accountant Carlos Domingo. "Women's earrings, wedding rings, watches, even family photos."

Each exile gave his own reasons for deciding to leave Cuba. Some left for political or religious reasons, while many cited deteriorating economic conditions on the island. Severe shortages have compelled the government to maintain strict rationing on everything from meat to shoes and have forced prices on the black market up to prohibitive levels. Even black beans, a Cuban staple, now cost $2.50 per lb. "The Cuban economy is in a state of collapse," said Electrician Luis Santana. "It's sunk."

Housed in both a onetime jail and the former presidential offices, most of the refugees in San José waited to fly on to the countries that had agreed to accept them. At week's end an initial group of 97 moved on to Lima, where the exhausted exiles were welcomed by Peruvian Foreign Minister Arturo García y García; an Iberia jet flew 50 more refugees directly from Havana to Spain. The overwhelming majority, however, indicated a preference for resettlement in the U.S. "All 10,000 would like to go to Miami," observed one Costa Rican official. "But we can't satisfy everyone."

■ ■ ■

Refugees were also leaving another Caribbean nation last week. Wading ashore from battered open skiffs, some 1,000 Haitians landed on southern Florida's beaches and were promptly detained as illegal immigrants. They joined a total of more than 3,000 such Haitian "boat people" who have been held so far this year. Says Miami's immigration and naturalization district director, Raymond Morris: "We were totally unprepared. This looks like a mass migration."

U.S. officials blame the influx on unusually tranquil seas that have eased the long journey, a crackdown against Haitians living illegally in the Bahamas, and rumors that the Carter Administration may be considering an amnesty for some illegal aliens in the U.S. Though it is sympathetic toward families trying to escape the economic hardships of the Western Hemisphere's poorest country, Washington insists that the Haitians cannot legally be allowed into the U.S. because, unlike Cubans, they do not qualify as "political" refugees. Deportation proceedings, however, have been held up pending the outcome of legal proceedings. Last week a class-action suit was brought by the Haitians in a Miami federal court. The refugees argue that they should be eligible for political asylum because the regime of President-for-Life Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier is one of the most repressive in the Caribbean. ■

CHINA

Beyond the First Euphoria

TIME *correspondent finds a mix of liberality and authority*

A new generation of Chinese leaders moved an important step closer to power last week when the National People's Congress, meeting in Standing Committee, promoted two provincial protégés of Senior Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping. Former Sichuan Province Governor Zhao Ziyang, 61, and former Anhui Province Party Leader Wan Li, 64, were both elevated to the rank of Vice Premier; to make room for them, two longtime holdovers from the fading era of the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung were asked to resign. Zhao in particular was singled out by Deng as the new administrator who would be "in charge of the day-to-day work of the Cabinet."

The reshuffle was yet another consolidation of the Deng leadership group as it carries out its drive for the so-called Four Modernizations in industry, agriculture, defense, and science and technology. Indeed, that modernization drive has met with some success, reports TIME's *new Peking bureau chief Richard Bernstein, but it is complicated by crosscurrents of political uncertainties*

"What do you think of our Four Modernizations?" The young factory technician looked at me expectantly over his cup of tea, and then answered his own question. "They are fine in theory," he said; "the problem is implementation. The factories are still in the hands of retired soldiers who don't know anything about running a factory. If you want to do something new, it's like hitting your head against a steel wall."

That view is probably more gloomy than most in a society that is generally hopeful about the future. Nonetheless it reflects the uneasiness of many Chinese these days. The country has gone far beyond the first euphoria of its "second liberation," when the radical Gang of Four, including Mao's widow Jiang Qing, was toppled from power and the new leaders embarked on pragmatic policies. By now, some relaxed features of life are taken for granted: the return of romantic drama to TV, glossy billboards advertising Coca-Cola and Sanyo tape recorders, and at least a superficial measure of personal ease that came with the end of militant Maoist campaigns and marches. Still, Chinese intellectuals seriously question how much such relaxation can help to truly revitalize a country that is still poor and backward.

The problem that Deng and his colleagues have most successfully confronted is the nettlesome one of succession. Two months ago at an important Communist Party plenum, Deng got rid of most of the radical holdovers on the all-powerful Politburo. Now speculation centers on whether Deng, who is 75, will voluntarily step down from his government, but not party posts, as he has been hinting. That alone would be an unprecedented gesture in a country where, as one senior official recently complained, "we generally either stay in office until we die or we do something so bad we get thrown out."

Otherwise, there are plenty of signs of political tension in the air. In the provinces, some officials are still being purged for various forms of malfeasance and dereliction of duty. Some Peking officials say that the newly established Secretariat of the Party is examining the files of every single one of the country's 38 million party members. Such scrutiny and the ongoing purge suggest that the system, as one diplomat puts it, "is still loaded up with incompetent, arrogant, Mao-spouting devotees of the Cultural Revolution."

Potential opposition in the bureaucratic underbrush may explain another puzzling feature of the Deng era: the fact that Peking these days shows a curious mix of new liberality—and renewed controls. On the one hand, the regime encourages a measure of freedom and even some freewheeling debate in such areas as technology and economic planning. In the political realm, on the other hand, authoritarianism is the order of the day.

Even in relations with foreigners, there is both relaxation and tighter control. Last week I went to the reception center in southern Peking to see the thousands of provincials who continue to descend on the capital to present their grievances to the government. One man, dressed in shabby, quilted clothing, began to tell me how he had been kicked out of his teaching job in Henan province. Another began to talk about his own misfortunes. Within minutes, plainclothes security personnel tapped both of them on the shoulder and led them silently away. "They are surely going to be beaten for talking with a foreigner," someone muttered in the gathered crowd

Another uncertainty is just how far the regime will go in distancing itself from the heritage of Mao. The only Mao protégé still in a top national post is Party Chairman and Premier Hua Guofeng, but he has become largely a figurehead Last week an important foreign visitor, Italian Communist Party Leader Enrico Berlinguer, did his serious talking not with Hua but with the Party Secretary-General and Deng ally, Hu Yaobang. Their meeting marked the first friendly exchange between the Chinese and Italian parties in 18 years.

Meanwhile, a small cult has been growing up around Mao's former archenemy, onetime Head of State Liu Shaoqi, who was formally rehabilitated by the party in late February after 14 years of disgrace. Last week, while the Chinese were still celebrating the early spring Ch'ing Ming Festival in commemoration of the dead, ranks of workers and schoolchildren marched past wreaths for Liu at the Martyrs' Monument in the sunny center of Peking. Two hundred yards away was a huge picture of Mao, the Great Helmsman. He seemed an awkward, ghostly presence from the past in a country that does not know quite what to do with him as it tries to shape a new future. ■

Berlinguer and Party Secretary-General Hu Yaobang (on couch) share a light moment with Italian Communist Official Giancarlo Pajetta (left)

The first friendly exchange between the Chinese and Italian Communist parties, it marked an end to an 18-year break in relations.

LIBERIA

After the Takeover, Revenge

Victims buried in a mass grave as Doe consolidates his power

A crowd of angry Liberians shouted insults and hurled rocks last week at the body of their assassinated President, William Tolbert, which had been dumped in a mass grave alongside 27 other victims of a predawn *coup d'état* the previous weekend. Pockets of loyalist resistance remained; there was at least one fight between opposing military factions. For the most part, however, the new government, led by a natty master sergeant named Samuel Doe, 28, appeared to be in firm control.

One of Doe's first acts after seizing power was to order the release of some 50 leaders of the opposition Progressive People's Party whom Tolbert had jailed early last month. One of his next acts was to order the immediate roundup of 91 officials of the Tolbert regime. Within days, eleven former ministers, including Tolbert's brother Frank, a onetime leader of the Liberian Senate, were standing trial on charges of "high treason, rampant corruption and gross violation of human rights." Several others, among them the slain President's two sons, were in hiding.

Coup Leader Doe delivering TV speech

On arrival in Monrovia, the Liberian capital, late last week, TIME Nairobi Bureau Chief Jack White found the country quickly returning to normal. Reported White: "On the 30-mile drive from the airport into the city, there were few visible signs of the revolution. A red-and-white banner draped on a building read, OUR EYES ARE OPEN: THE TIME OF THE PEOPLE HAS COME. At the modernistic executive mansion where Tolbert had died, security was minimal. A lone trooper stood watch at the gate, while a mere handful of armed soldiers milled around inside. At the seaside Ducor Inter-Continental Hotel, a sign in the lobby admonished guests to obey the dusk-to-dawn curfew. Its message: STAY OFF THE STREETS AND STAY ALIVE."

The coup set off a wave of elation among Liberia's native population, usually called "country people." Waving palm fronds and chanting anti-Tolbert slogans, thousands poured into the streets. Many of them flocked to the John F. Kennedy Memorial Medical Center to jeer at the exhibited corpses of Tolbert and the others who had been killed in the fighting. Later the bodies were bulldozed into a mass grave in downtown Monrovia as hundreds looked on approvingly.

Like most of his political predecessors, Tolbert was one of the "settlers," or Americo-Liberians, descended from the freed American slaves who founded the West African nation in 1847. Throughout Liberia's history, the settler group dominated both the government and the economy of Africa's oldest republic, despite the fact that it represented only about 3% of the country's 1.7 million people. Tolbert, a Baptist minister who had served 20 years as vice president, made a degree of headway in reforming the top leadership after he assumed the presidency in 1971. Alarmed by an outbreak of rioting last year over a government proposal to raise the price of rice as a spur to production, he supported a constitutional amendment giving most tribal Liberians the right to vote for the first time. But this reform came too late to assuage a growing civilian opposition to his rule as well as deepening resentment in his own armed forces. In the end, it was a band of country people in the enlisted ranks of the army who overthrew him.

Bodies of Tolbert and other victims lying in common grave

"Our eyes are open: the time of the people has come."

Sergeant Doe, now Africa's youngest strongman, became enraged at Tolbert during last year's rice riots. A brisk, jaunty, slightly built man, he is the son of an impoverished farmer from the small Krahn tribe. He left school after the eleventh grade and joined the army. Last year he took an advanced training course from a U.S. Army special forces detachment in Liberia. Like Flight Lieut. Jerry Rawlings, 33, who led a coup in neighboring Ghana last year, Doe has a flair for the dramatic. During his first TV address as head of state, he wore sunglasses and a well-pressed fatigue uniform with a hand grenade dangling from one pocket. Newly installed in the executive mansion, Doe summoned the ranking U.S. diplomat, Chargé d'Affaires Julius Walker, and sent his new Foreign Minister, former Opposition Leader Gabriel Baccus Matthews, together with a contingent of troops, to get him. Matthews showed up still dressed in the tattered shorts he had been wearing when released from jail only a few hours before.

Doe spoke last week of seeking good relations with all "peace-loving nations," and ended his speeches with the P.P.P. opposition slogan, "In the cause of the people, the struggle continues." Western diplomats believe his coup was motivated primarily by resentment against the long-dominant settler community. But Doe has said he is not out to persecute the Americo-Liberians, emphasizing: "I can assure you we are not for discrimination." He pledged himself to fight both the country's raging inflation and its 50% unemployment rate. One of his first decrees, which was both a gesture of gratitude and a bid for future support, was to raise the monthly pay of Liberian army privates from $85 to $250 a month. ■

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Inadvertent Guru to an Age

Jean-Paul Sartre: 1905-1980

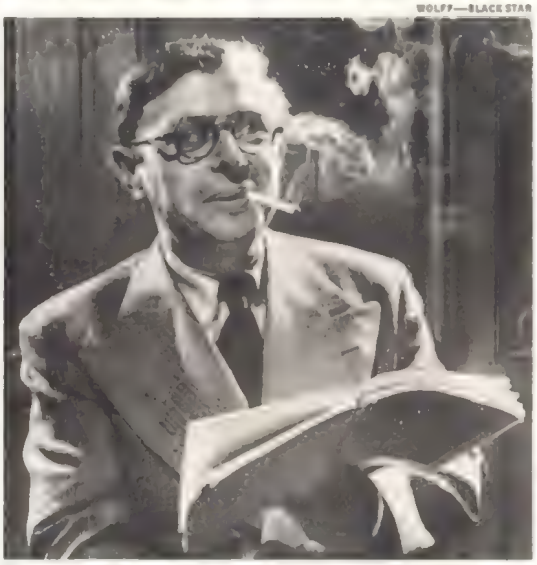
He looked like a toad, as he said of himself. His sexual life was more intricate than the plot of a Restoration comedy; and he once remarked, with a humor rare in his profession, that sex preoccupied him far more than philosophy. He did not write like a philosopher either, for he commanded a graceful prose style that could turn the subtlest concept into a memorable aphorism or a playable drama. But Jean-Paul Sartre managed to become an influential philosopher at a moment in history when philosophers had ceased to influence almost anybody.

That moment was the bitter aftermath of World War II. Exhausted Europe, shaken by the absolute evil Adolf Hitler seemed to represent and by the paralyzing fear of nuclear annihilation, had been delivered not into peace but into the ambiguous stalemate of the cold war. Looking for guidance when most moral values seemed questionable and all ideals suspect, the postwar generation found solace in the austere arms of existentialism. Sartre did not invent the term, and he owed a heavy intellectual debt to more profound European thinkers, notably the opaque German Philosopher Martin Heidegger. But in Sartre's prose, abstract ideas were translated into demands for decision. "Man is free," he wrote. "The coward makes himself cowardly. The hero makes himself heroic."

Because God does not exist, said Sartre, man defines what he is, his essence, through his own actions. Each individual is responsible for choosing one course of action over another. It is the choice that gives value to the act, and nothing that is not acted upon has value. Lending a moral dimension to an otherwise indifferent universe, Sartre declared that a person cannot define himself by "disappointed dreams, miscarried hopes or vain expectations." Most people seek to evade responsibility by blaming something or somebody else for their fate. Sartre regarded this as "bad faith." It is the real curse of the characters in his most famous play, *No Exit* (1944), who whine, "Hell is other people."

Sartre expounded his ideas in nine plays, four novels, five major philosophical works, innumerable lectures, and essays written for *Les Temps Modernes*, the magazine he helped found in 1945. Among its contributors was another action-oriented writer, Albert Camus, who subsequently broke with Sartre in a bitter dispute over the nature of Stalinism, which Camus deplored. Sartre led demonstrations, fired off protests and manned almost every political barricade raised by the left. Ironically, his most conspicuous disciples—the young, the bitter and the cynical—did little or nothing and understood Sartre least. Had he not proclaimed life absurd, reality nauseating and man free—of moral laws, religious commandments, restricting obligations either to ideals or family? The long-haired beatniks became part of Sartre's mystique.

This inadvertent guru had an opinion on everything, painfully considered, elaborately reasoned, often changed. But for most of his life he was convinced of the ineluctable corruption of the bourgeoisie, even though he was to the bourgeoisie



WOLFF—BLACK STAR

The man of letters at the height of his powers (1946)

born. His father was a naval officer who sickened and died when Jean-Paul was only two. The boy was brought up in the house of his grandfather, a linguistics professor who doted on him. His prim Roman Catholic mother he loved but did not respect, because nobody else in his free-thinking Lutheran grandfather's household did ("My mother and I were the same age," Sartre later recalled).

At the Ecole Normale Supérieure he studied philosophy and met Simone de Beauvoir, his lifelong love, mistress and intellectual alter ego. The war found him a secondary school teacher in Le Havre. In 1940, as a clerk in the army weather service at the front, he was captured by the Germans. After six months he got a release by passing himself off as a civilian too weak-eyed to be of military use. He returned to Paris and sweated out the Nazi Occupation.

He risked imprisonment by writing for the underground press. He also wrote a play, *The Flies* (1943). Ostensibly a reworking of Aeschylus' drama in which Orestes avenges the death of his father at the hands of his mother and her lover, it was actually a philosophical tract with a message: every man has a right to commit any crime (even matricide) if he will freely take responsibility for it. French audiences correctly took this to mean that any act of resistance was justified in the struggle for freedom. The Germans eventually got the message and banned the play.

Sartre was naturally drawn to the Communists, mainly because he was a revolutionary. But they also played a strong role in the French Resistance against the Germans, and they had come through the war relatively untainted by suspicions of collaboration. Reluctant to believe that the Communists could not tolerate dissent, he became the most conspicuous fellow traveler of his time. He wrote labored excuses for the Soviet purges and Siberian labor camps ("Communist violence is no more than the childhood disease of a new era"). Sartre denounced the Soviets for sending their tanks to suppress the Hungarian rebellion in 1956; three months later, though, he was defending the Party as a "necessary" reality.

In 1960 Sartre risked arrest in France for espousing the cause of the Algerian rebels and for denouncing the use of torture by the French in Algeria. He refused the Nobel Prize in 1964 because, he said, he did not want to be a tool in the cultural struggle between East and West. "If you begin by saying, 'Thou shalt not lie,' " he told one interviewer, "there is no longer any possibility of political action." He sometimes seemed ready to quit on the revolution ("There is no salvation anywhere"), but he finally took solace from the Maoists. Because they professed to take their leadership directly from the masses, he perceived them as the purest of revolutionaries.

Sartre was never in robust health. Blind in his right eye from the age of three, he lost most of the sight in his one good eye after a heart attack in 1973 and had to give up the last volume of a huge biography of Gustave Flaubert that he had worked on for 16 years. Nursed by the faithful Beauvoir, he spent his last years in seclusion in Paris or wintering in Italy. His death last week, from pulmonary congestion after acute heart failure, came after a brief hospitalization.

Sartre has been called the conscience of his generation. Unquestionably he was too often wrong for that. In a lifetime of search for a place where man could put his feet, he never found a place for his own —and he knew it, which is more than most people know or care to admit. He did care, and it is the eloquence and intensity of that caring (for himself and on behalf of others) that is Sartre's monument. ■

Autoworkers leaving the Ford assembly plant in Mahwah, N.J., after hearing that the company would be closing it down permanently

Economy & Business

The Wolf Has Arrived

For an overwrought economy, the recession comes better late than never

Shortly after 4 in the afternoon last Thursday, President Carter looked firmly into the television cameras and announced that the economy "has slowed down and has probably entered a period of recession." After a staggering litany of bad economic news over the past month, there is now little doubt that the nation has ended the longest peacetime expansion in its history

The wolf was supposed to arrive at the door about a year ago, but it was delayed by a bad case of inflationary psychology. For months consumers have been rushing out to buy in the belief that prices, no matter how high already, could only go higher. This has ballooned inflation to an annual rate of more than 18%. But in the middle of March, according to Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Gerald Ford, "somebody pulled the plug on the economy." The somebody was Federal Reserve Chairman Paul A. Volcker, who has been working steadily since last August to get control of the growth of money by raising interest rates. The head of the nation's central bank made it clear that he was ready to risk a serious recession in order to get the price explosion under control. In October and then again last month, Volcker jacked up the cost of money. Consumers finally began putting off spending plans, and the economy started to slide. This economic downturn will certainly go into history books as the "Volcker Recession."

Technically, the National Bureau of Economic Research will perform the economic autopsy later this year and, if the numbers hold up, declare the recession official. The rule of thumb definition is two consecutive quarters of decline in gross national product. Though the nation's business actually grew by a scant 1.1% in the first quarter, the economy is sinking fast. Retail sales slipped 1.6% in February and then an additional 1.3% in March. In response, businessmen are pulling back; factory output tumbled .8% in March, following a .2% drop in the previous month. Finally, perhaps the two most important industries, autos and housing, have collapsed *(see following stories)*. Since automobile construction indirectly employs one out of six workers and housing one in five, those declines will ripple through the whole economy

But bad news everywhere else was good news for the debt markets. Long-term bond prices that had been badly depressed earlier this year last week soared five points in one day, the largest one-day rise on record. The rally was touched off by Economist Henry Kaufman's prediction that interest rates had reached their cyclical peaks. By the end of the week his judgment seemed to be confirmed, when the prime commercial bank lending rate was lowered from 20% to 19.5%.

Few experts expect that this recession will be as severe as the one six years ago, which lasted 16 months and caused output to decline by 5.7%. But the Carter Administration's projections of a "mild and short" decline are so much whistling past the graveyard. TIME Board of Economists Members Walter Heller and Otto Eckstein see the economic drop ranging from 3% to 4%, with a slow recovery starting in the second quarter of 1981. That would make this downturn the second worst since the Great Depression.

Though most of the damage will probably be concentrated in the older industrial areas of the Northeast and Midwest, much as in 1975, the slump is likely to hit all areas of the nation. Sagging housing starts are being felt in furniture and textile factories throughout the South, and the Northwest's aerospace industry will be only as strong as its airline customers

Despite the economic decline, very little immediate payoff is expected in lower prices. President Carter admitted last week that the cost of living is likely to continue rising sharply for several more months. Treasury Secretary G. William Miller predicts optimistically that inflation will have declined to an average annual rate of 12.8% by the end of 1980. The drop in prices will occur, though, only if the recession is allowed to do its work in an election year. Already various Carter constituencies are screaming as the screws are turning. Even while the President was telling newsmen last week that the recession was "probably" at hand, he was also announcing an additional $75 million in federal spending to revamp the housing subsidy program by cutting interest costs for builders and home buyers. After everyone has so long anticipated the recession, the temptation now will be to stop it quickly with a new rush of spending from Washington. ■

Autos Hit 40 Miles of Bad Road

Detroit's sales slump leads the business slowdown

The warm weather and quickened heartbeats of spring have traditionally sparked a resurgence in U.S. auto sales after winter's doldrums. Not this year. Domestic new car sales for the first ten days in April were down a sharp 24% from a year ago. Detroit now expects to build only 7 million cars this year. In the past 18 years, only one year was worse: recession-struck 1975.

Last week Ford Motor Co., which is expected to lose $1 billion on domestic car operations in 1980, announced the permanent closing of its assembly plant in Mahwah, N.J., shut down smaller operations in Dearborn, Mich., and Windsor, Ont., and cut 15,000 blue- and white-collar jobs. Time may be running short for Chrysler. Sales are off 26% from 1979's already depressed levels, and the company is making a herculean cost-cutting and consolidation effort in order to qualify for $1.5 billion in federal guaranteed loans. Even mighty General Motors last week put 12,000 more workers on indefinite layoff.

Auto industry layoffs may soon exceed 250,000, which badly hurts such auto-dependent cities as Detroit, where unemployment has already reached 24%. The current downturn is reminiscent of 1927, when Henry Ford helped push the country's economy into a slump by halting all Ford output for five months, as he switched production from the Model T to the Model A. Says United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser: "The rest of America may be having a recession. But autoworkers are having a depression."

The nation's deteriorating economy is not the only source of Motown's blues; American automakers are waging a losing battle against Japanese competition. Imports now account for more than one of every four cars bought in the U.S., and 80% of those are made in Japan. American sales of popular Toyota Corollas since the beginning of the year have been higher than those of all Chrysler's Dodge division. The Japanese cars have won a hard-to-beat reputation for economy and quality of workmanship. In a recent survey of American auto engineers by *Ward's Auto World* magazine, nearly half said they thought Japanese cars are better built than comparable U.S. models

Auto company executives have stopped short of lobbying for import restrictions against Japan. Just as well. President Carter at his news conference last week pointed a wagging finger at the industry and said he had urged Detroit automakers to build smaller cars three years ago. He said they had replied that American consumers wanted big ones. The President firmly ruled out restrictions on Japanese imports, saying that controls would force consumers to buy the inefficient gas guzzlers they do not want. Both Carter and industry officials would like the Japanese to construct assembly plants here, and last week Nissan Motor, which makes the Datsun, announced plans for a new $300 million truck plant to be built in either the Great Lakes region or the Southeastern U.S. Honda will begin construction of an auto plant by the end of 1980 next door to its Marysville, Ohio, motorcycle facility.

The Big Three U.S. carmakers are currently caught in a deadly bear pit. Simultaneously, they are trying to sell off a fleet of aging behemoths, fight off the Japanese import offensive and find $30 billion to $40 billion to build the smaller, fuel-efficient cars the public now demands. Until a year ago, Detroit vehemently complained about the difficulty of meeting the Government-mandated Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standard of 27.5 miles per gal. by 1985. Now the Big Three automakers have to do even better in order to satisfy consumer desires. Buyers will stand in line or pay top price for a compact car they want, such as the Chevrolet Citation or Volkswagen Rabbit. But few want big cars at any price.

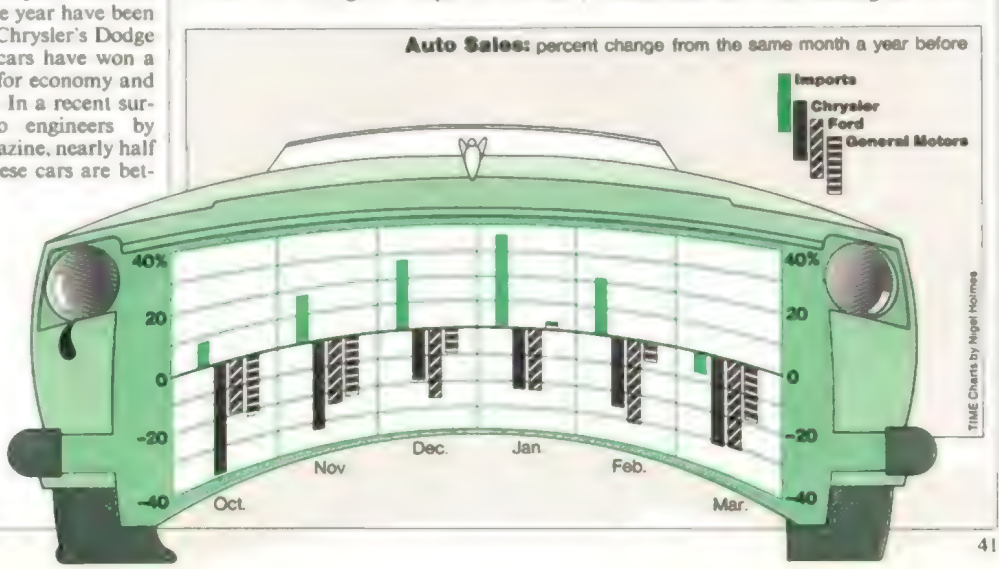
These changes are made more difficult because of the profit structure of the auto industry. Traditionally, the carmakers have made their big profits on big cars. Earnings on a full-size model may be $1,000, as compared with only $200 to $300 on a small car. Thus the companies are now doubly hit.

Auto dealers are bearing the brunt of Detroit's past mistakes. "I'll take what I can get for Lincolns and Mercurys," says Dealer Marty Ladin of Thousand Oaks, Calif. "I've even got a couple of '79s left over." Though most dealerships have kept inventories prudently low, financing costs for cars on hand are astronomical. With their current interest rates at 21%, each automobile in the showroom can cost as much as $150 per month. Privately, GM figures that 850 of its 12,800 dealers could go broke before October. Last week Richard Erb of Erb Chevrolet in Tecumseh, Mich., filed for bankruptcy. Two years ago, he had one of the most profitable dealerships in the state, selling $10 million worth of autos annually. Said Erb: "I don't believe it's because Americans do not build quality cars. They just build too many of the wrong cars."

Chrysler, the sick man of the industry, remains on the critical list. Despite months of frantic scrambling, it has been hard pressed to put together the $2 billion finance package needed to qualify for $1.5 billion in Government-guaranteed loans. Last week it looked as if the firm may have done it. Though Chrysler's bankers did not extend the company the required $400 million new line of credit, they did grant $680 million in loan deferrals and interest-payment concessions. Chrysler agreed to give the lenders the option of buying half its auto subsidiary.

With that accord and the company's latest operating plan in hand, Chairman Lee Iacocca flew to Washington at week's end to present his financial package to Treasury Secretary G. William Miller and other members of the Government's Loan Guarantee Board. In a two-hour meeting in the Treasury Building's fourth-floor conference room, Iacocca promised to cut $2 billion from an ambitious five-year, $13.6 billion spending program by merging the company's three car lines into two and by further layoffs. The board members were noncommittal, but Chrysler must have the money soon. The firm's first-quarter loss is now expected to be close to last year's third-quarter record operating deficit of $461 million.

Like a man waiting for a bad headache to go away, Detroit is stuck with its undesirable cars while looking forward to



the new generation of fuel-thrifty cars due to begin arriving on dealer lots this fall. In describing the new Chrysler autos, Iacocca says: "We're going to be building three types—small cars, smaller cars and smallest cars." Both Ford and GM will introduce front-wheel drive, so-called world cars, which may be the industry's best prospect for future profits. These will be small, economical vehicles assembled from parts made in several countries. Essentially, the same car will be sold all over the globe. Ford's entry in this field is the subcompact Ford Escort and Mercury Lynx, which replace the outdated Pinto and Bobcat models.

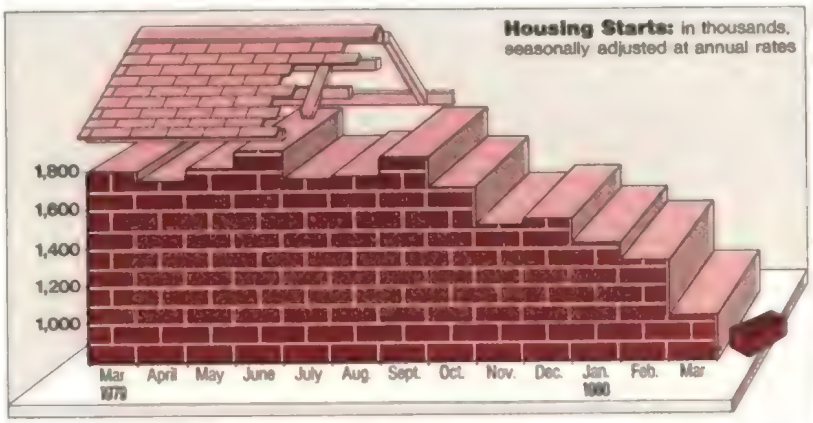
GM remains best placed to withstand the current tempest, and will probably be the only Big Three automaker to earn a profit this year. Its very successful X cars, such as the Chevrolet Citation and the Buick Skylark, are helping the company maintain its market share. This fall GM will introduce shrunken or down-size intermediate cars like the Chevrolet Monte Carlo and Buick Regal. Its J car is due in April 1981, and will be a sporty subcompact successor to such models as the Chevy Monza.

Chrysler's survival hangs on the success of its K car, a front-wheel-drive compact. The auto will be marketed as the Dodge Aries and Plymouth Reliant and looks like a smaller version of this year's Mirada and Cordoba. Its fuel economy and size will position it precisely against GM's hot-selling X cars. Reports TIME Detroit Bureau Chief Barrett Seaman: "If the market stays as dismal as it is and the public fails to take to the new small cars, no amount of federal guaranteed loans will save Chrysler."

Until the new smaller cars from Detroit's Big Three arrive, the American auto picture will remain gloomy. Ford's North American auto chief, Harold ("Red") Poling, says pessimistically: "The outlook is not good. In 1981 there will be some pickup but not a big one, and there is some chance of resurgence in 1982 or '83. I think we are going to be going through a very tough period." With management and assembly-line personnel slashed, the dealer base eroded and consumer loyalty dissipated, it may be another few years before spring blooms again in Detroit. ■

Housing's Roof Caves In

High mortgage costs bite



The all-American dream of home ownership is turning into a black nightmare. Last month the number of new houses on which construction was begun crashed 42% from last year's levels to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of just over 1 million units. This is the lowest rate since the 1974-75 recession and the sharpest monthly drop in 20 years. Worse still, the number of new building permits granted in March also sank sharply, which suggests that the bad housing news will get even worse. Says Robert Sheehan, director of economic research for the National Association of Home Builders: "Buyers and builders, sellers and lenders are all getting frightened. The figures over the next few months could be dreadful."

The culprit of the crunch is clearly the Federal Reserve's credit squeeze. Would-be house buyers are now finding it difficult to obtain money to borrow, and when they do, the rates are high enough to make any bail bondsman blush. The nation's average mortgage rate today is an astronomical 17%, *vs.* 11% late last year and 9% in 1977. Last November a family buying a $100,000 house would have needed an income of $36,500 to qualify for the normal $80,000 mortgage, and faced monthly payments of $761. Today, obtaining a mortgage for that same amount would require an income of $55,000 and monthly outlays of a staggering $1,140.

Mark and Delain Gorden both work for the Department of Health and Human Services in San Francisco and have a combined yearly salary of $33,000. In mid-February they arranged a 12% veteran's loan for the purchase of a modest $113,000 two-bedroom house. Within a month the mortgage rate rose to 13%, and the Gordens backed away. Says he: "The extra point would have taken an extra month's pay."

Because of the shortage of reasonably priced mortgage money, the number of houses sold this year is expected to be about half last year's 5 million. The slowdown in sales is beginning to have an impact on the cost of shelter; the median price for houses has already declined from $66,000 last September to about $65,100, a major change after the regular annual gains of 14% and more during the past two years.

The buckling of the housing industry is not confined to any geographical area. Former housing boom towns like Houston and Atlanta are also suffering, and even Florida, which looked as if it might be spared for a while, is feeling the slump. The hardest-hit region is the Midwest. Laments St. Louis–area Builder Tom Berry: "Home sales are not bad. They have just stopped."

The collapsing market is hitting builders and construction firms hardest. Merrill Butler, president of the NAHB, estimated that nationwide unemployment in the industry could jump to 15% by October. St. Louis builders are predicting that local industry unemployment will rise to 80%; in some areas, like Chicago, more than 50% of all firms could go bankrupt. Says Michael Keston, president of a California-based construction company: "Builders have crawled into their shells like turtles."

And the impact spreads. The rule of thumb in the housing industry is that the laying off of a single worker by homebuilders results in two additional layoffs in related industries like cement, copper tubing, building materials and wood. The signs are already ominous. Oregon Governor Victor Atiyeh reports that sawmills in his state are "closing almost daily." The Western Wood Products Association notes that 141 lumber mills in the twelve Western timber states have already closed and an additional 249 have curtailed production.

Last week President Carter took some minor emergency measures to shore up housing by approving the expansion of the federal program that subsidizes interest payments for both homebuilders and buyers. The plan, which will cost an additional $75 million, would provide mortgages of up to $50,000 at interest rates as low as 11%. The President estimated that this might stimulate construction of 100,000 new houses. The only long-range relief for the industry, however, will come when interest rates begin falling from their dizzying heights. ■

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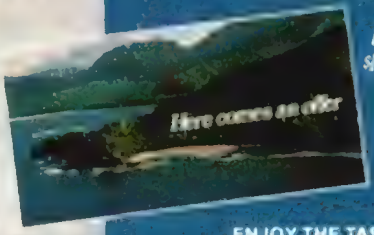

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Seven and Seven have been going together for over 40 years. For a perfect marriage, just pour 1½ oz. Seagram's 7 over ice in a tall glass, fill with 7UP and enjoy our quality in moderation.

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SEAGRAM DISTILLERS CO., N.Y.C. AMERICAN WHISKEY—A BLEND. 80 PROOF.

Black Beauty

Johnson tries a comeback

In 1954 George E. Johnson started his own business in a South Side Chicago storefront by borrowing $250 and mixing, with wooden poles, a hair straightener for blacks. Twenty-two years later his company's health and beauty products had $39 million in annual sales, and Johnson Products became the first black-owned firm to be listed on the American Stock Exchange. But now Johnson's empire is tottering after conflicts with federal bureaucrats and tough competition from cosmetic giants like Revlon. Company sales fell last year to $31 million, and earnings have slumped from $1.40 a share in 1975 to a minuscule 2¢.

Johnson, grandson of a Mississippi sharecropper, has long been a leading example of black capitalism at its bootstrap best. His Chicago-based firm held about 60% of the black hair-care market. His Ultra Sheen No-Base hair relaxer was the first product to contain a protective cream that shielded the scalp against powerful acids. Advised that patenting the new product could take two years, Johnson decided to put it directly on the shelf in 1965, without that legal protection.

Though competitors quickly copied his formula, Johnson Products continued to dominate the sales of all hair relaxers, substances that straighten curly hair. But in 1975 the Federal Trade Commission required the company to warn consumers that Ultra Sheen contained lye, which could burn the scalp and cause eye damage. Johnson claims that FTC officials assured him at the time that the other straighteners would also have to print a warning about lye on their packages. Yet for almost two years, while Ultra Sheen's label carried the notice, competitors like Revlon continued to market their "safe," "gentle" and "natural" products. Says Johnson bitterly: "The Revlon representatives said to customers, 'Look, the Government made Ultra Sheen put this warning on their jars because it's dangerous. Our product isn't dangerous.' And yet it was the same product."

Johnson's market share has fallen from 60% to about 40% since 1975. Revlon meanwhile began aggressively going after black consumers with its Revlon Realistic hair straightener, in addition to marketing cosmetics for black women under the Polished Ambers brand. In 1979 sales of those beauty products were up by more than 70%. Revlon has also launched Dermanesse, a line of skin-care products aimed especially at blacks, during a cocktail reception for leading New York black women and a tea for the wives of U.N. diplomats.

But Johnson has been doing more than complaining about unfair Government regulators. Early this year he launched Precise, a product that both straightens and conditions hair. He is also starting an expanded line of cosmetics for blacks under the name Moisture Formula, to compete with Revlon.

The company's most promising new prospect, though, is the lucrative African market. In Nigeria, Ultra Sheen has become the generic name for all hair-conditioning products. In a joint venture with the Nigerian government, Johnson last month opened a $2 million manufacturing plant in Lagos. He optimistically predicts that the Nigerian factory will clear the way to the sale of a whole range of black health and beauty products in Africa and a return to the company's high road to profits. ■

The founder and the names he made famous

After a slide, a new venture in Africa.

Gas from Goo

More energy from heavy oil

At first glance, it looks like any other oilfield, with acre upon acre of pumps rhythmically nodding up and down as they suck up the crude oil trapped in rock below the surface. But the Guadalupe, Calif., oil patch 50 miles northwest of Santa Barbara is no ordinary oilfield. Like a growing number of production sites in California and Texas, Guadalupe is producing a gloppy goo that looks more like asphalt than normal petroleum. This is so-called heavy oil, a once rejected energy source that oilmen now believe may help diminish the nation's dependence on imported petroleum.

The potential supplies of heavy oil are vast. Venezuela alone has untapped deposits perhaps equal to the total known world oil reserves of 642 billion bbl. But heavy crudes have a much higher sulfur content and less potential energy value than the lighter grades normally used for making gasoline or heating oil. Until recently, energy companies left the heavy oil in the ground because it was too costly to produce and refine into useful petroleum products. But skyrocketing petroleum prices now mean that even heavy oil has become economical; engineering breakthroughs are also making it more profitable.

By going after domestic heavy crude, the U.S. could double its present oil reserves of 29 billion bbl. The leading heavy oil producer is Shell Oil, which is already pumping 85,000 bbl. of it per day. That is about 20% of the company's total U.S. output and nearly half the nation's total heavy oil production. The company last year paid an estimated $3.5 billion for the Kern County oilfields of Belridge Oil Co., which are believed to contain up to 375 million bbl. of heavy crude, by far the largest such deposit in the country. One of Shell's toughest competitors is California's Union Oil, which operates the Guadalupe field.

Plentiful though it is, heavy oil poses problems that begin with getting it out of the ground. Because the crude is so sticky, less than 10% of it will flow to the surface by conventional pumping methods. One way to liquefy the goo is to force superheated steam into deep crude wells for as long as two weeks at pressures as high as 2,500 lbs. per sq. in. The extraction also requires huge amounts of energy. Just to heat enough steam to liquefy and then force three barrels of heavy oil up a well shaft can take as much as one barrel of oil or its energy equivalent in the form of natural gas or coal.

The complications continue at the refinery. Heavy oil molecules, compared with those in lighter crudes, have a higher proportion of carbon atoms and fewer hydrogen atoms. Since the energy potential of oil depends on the number of hydrogens, 40% to 50% of a barrel of heavy oil comes out as low-energy, low-priced products, such as industrial fuel oil and bunker oil for ships. Getting more gasoline requires a multimillion-dollar investment in complex equipment to break down these heavy residual fuels.

Despite these drawbacks, oilmen still see heavy crude as a necessary fuel for the future. Last month Ashland Oil of Kentucky announced the development of a new process to convert heavy oil molecules into light ones and sharply improve gasoline yields. The company's first full-scale commercial treatment plant will go into production in 1982. Ashland estimates that this method could eventually reduce the nation's crude oil imports by 25% or more. The race to exploit heavy oil reflects a new spirit of enterprise that could uncap the nation's almost boundless resources and make the U.S. less dependent upon a handful of Arab sheiks. ■

The Happy Gambler of the Air

World Airways' $69.99 flights of fancy

Inflation-weary Americans last week set up sieges at travel bureaus and clogged telephone lines to get tickets for perhaps the best airline bargain ever: World Airways' $69.99 flights from the East to West coast, and from Los Angeles to Hawaii. The tiny airline (1979 revenues: $166 million), in a monthlong promotion offer from mid-April to mid-May, is undercutting existing rates across the continent by as much as $228.

The cheap fares are a carefully staged tactic to fill up World Airways' planes once again. A year ago, the line's cut-rate, $99 coast-to-coast flights were soaring at 80% capacity, when the grounding of all DC-10s after the American Airlines crash in Chicago idled its cross-country fleet. As soon as the DC-10s were again cleared for takeoff, the line was hit by a four-month strike of pilots, mechanics and stewardesses demanding higher pay. Since World finally got back in the air last January, an average of only 17% of its seats have been full. The airline decided that it needed some gimmick to win back the crowds and chose the $69.99 flight. But for all the carefully orchestrated hoopla, the cheap fare remains a gigantic gamble: just to break even, World must fill every single one of the 380 seats on each one of its twelve daily DC-10 flights.

Such a high-risk, odds-against wager is characteristic of World's buccaneering chairman, Edward Daly, 57. A combative Irishman who likes to arm-wrestle visitors, Daly has a reputation for making apparently unsound economic moves pay off. In 1950, at 27, and after a brief career as a semiprofessional boxer, Daly bought the two-year-old ailing World with $50,000 worth of poker winnings. The carrier was no prize. Its debts totaled $250,000, and its assets were only seven planes: two leased war-surplus transports and five unairworthy flying boats that later were sold for scrap.

In the mid-1950s World began to prosper when it was awarded military and passenger contracts serving the Far East. A few years later, it won the right to fly charters everywhere outside North America. Its big growth, however, came in the mid-1960s, when World started to receive large military contracts to airlift personnel and supplies to Viet Nam.

Along the way, Daly legends sprouted. While rebuilding a newly bought but burned-out plane in London in 1956, the tightfisted entrepreneur saved cash by sleeping for more than a month in the same limousine that he used to visit bankers. In the last days of the Viet Nam War, Daly organized, paid for and flew on a World mercy flight into Danang hours before the North Vietnamese captured the city. The self-styled "old bastard" pistol-whipped and kicked mutinous South Vietnamese troops who tried to board the refugee flight.

Married, with one daughter, Daly drives a Lamborghini sports car, frequently wears mod clothes and takes pride in raising his Arabian horses. He also supports orphanages in the U.S. and abroad. Often tongue-tied in public, his main relaxation is flying around the world in his two private planes. One was owned by Howard Hughes when he was escorting Jane Russell; his other craft, a Convair 440, is painted 14 shades of green, with a shamrock on the tail and a leprechaun near the entry hatch. Daly calls it "the jolly green giant," but less respectful mechanics know it as "the green pickle."

Despite the mobs of customers trying to buy the $69.99 tickets, World's splash promotion was off to a bumpy start last week. Many of the first flights into the air were only half-full because ticket offices had been so overwhelmed by the rush of customers and the company's malfunctioning computer reservation system showed that the planes were full. The colorful and controversial gambler in the air has spun the wheel again; passengers will decide if he comes up a winner. ■

ANNE HAGAN

Ed Daly in Honolulu for some carefully orchestrated hoopla to celebrate a flight to Hawaii

A combative Irishman with a reputation for making unsound deals pay off big

Back to Piggies

Penalizing pint-size accounts

A penny saved may be a penny earned, but many large commercial banks are now telling penny savers not to bother. Through a variety of fees and interest penalties, the giants of finance are actively discouraging small savings accounts.

New York's Chase Manhattan pays no interest on most passbooks whenever the balance drops below $100. United Jersey Bank, the Garden State's second largest, will slap a $2-per-quarter charge on any account that averages below $100. Chicago's First National Bank allows only one free withdrawal per month from passbooks holding less than $500 and deducts $1 for each additional transaction.

Bankers complain that soaring interest rates have put them in such a profit squeeze that they are looking for any way to economize. Because of administrative expense, accounts under $100 are generally money losers. Bank executives insist that they are not trying to drive away customers with only small change but to encourage people to save more regularly and to consolidate multiple passbooks.

What about the "small" saver who wants to set aside 25¢ or so from his allowance each week? Bankers blush at the thought that they might be thwarting grade-school thrift, and some have moved to exempt children from the new fees. New York's Manufacturers Hanover, for example, waives for minors the $1 quarterly charge on pint-size accounts. But if the pressure on banks to streamline their operations continues to grow, the kids, and many of their on-the-brink elders, may find that a piggy bank is the best they can do. ■

GE Solar Technology. It's sniffing out oil from over 500 miles away.

When geologists wanted to find oil in Wyoming, they looked to the sky.

Five hundred miles into space.

Five hundred miles away, a satellite circles the earth. This satellite called LANDSAT was built for NASA by General Electric.

It's totally powered by the sun. It was designed by GE to make the most efficient use of the sun's energy.

LANDSAT covers the entire country, sending back incredibly sharp, detailed pictures of the earth. Among many things, these pictures are being used to measure crop sizes, flood damage, population density.

In Wyoming, trained geologists used these pictures to predict the most likely places to drill for oil.

The result? They struck oil on eleven out of eleven tries.

This is just one of the ways GE is using solar technology to put the sun's energy to work on earth.

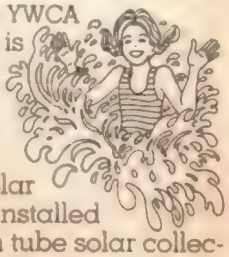
Solar technology from east to west.

A Poughkeepsie family is using the sun to keep warm with an experimental heating system designed with the help of GE solar technology.

This system uses solar panels to provide most of the heat. But on cloudy days, efficient GE heat pumps switch on automatically to fill the gap.

The system is so efficient, this family spent 40% to 75% less for energy than they would have with ordinary heating systems.

On the other side of the country, the YWCA in Spokane is keeping its swimming pool open year round, thanks to solar heat. They installed GE vacuum tube solar collectors on the roof. This gives them a steady flow of warm water at a fraction of the operating cost of conventional systems.



From the oil fields of Wyoming to the YWCA pool in Spokane, GE solar technology is working for people. It's only one of the many technologies that are helping GE make progress.

Progress for People

GENERAL ELECTRIC

Summer Cruise-
Smirnoff Style

Cookout-
Sure there's a nip in the air. The weather outside's delightful
And when you've got steaks sizzling on the fire
and Smirnoff to take the chill off and your friends to keep you warm
it's never too cold to charcoal. So let it snow.
Smirnoff vodka. It leaves you breathless
Smirnoff Style

Social Climbing-
Smirnoff Style

Home Movies-
Smirnoff Style

Contest-
Smirnoff Style

WIN $25,000

You get a great idea for a Smirnoff Style party. You throw the party, take a picture of it, give it a title, and send it in. That enters you in the Smirnoff Style Contest, and you can win either $25,000, $5,000, or $1,000.

What's Smirnoff Style? Bringing your own special creativity and imagination to the usual and making it unusual. Turning the expected into the unexpected through originality, and flair, and style—Smirnoff Style. For instance:

Honeymoon—you go off on a sailboat rather than in a car.

Social Climbing—you have cocktails in a tree house instead of your living room.

Home Movies—you give a costume party but everyone has to come dressed as a film star.

So send us your idea. Who knows? You just may party your way to fame and fortune—Smirnoff Style.

OFFICIAL ENTRY FORM

Please print clearly:

Contestant _____

Address _____

City _____ *State* _____

Zip _____ *Telephone* _____

I hereby certify that I am of legal drinking age in the state of my residence.

_____ _____

(signature of contestant) *(date)*

Mail entries to:
P.O. Box 10000, Westport, Conn. 06880

OFFICIAL RULES:

[illegible] party, including party theme or title. You may [illegible] official entry forms may be obtained at any [illegible] the Smirnoff Style contest display or by sending a self-addressed, stamped envelope to: Smirnoff Entry Form, PO Box 10000, Westport, Conn. 06880. Please allow two weeks for delivery.

2. Photographs submitted may be either color or black and white prints. NO SLIDES OR TRANSPARENCIES WILL BE JUDGED. DO NOT SUBMIT UNPROCESSED FILM. Sorry, no photographs or entries can be returned. All entries become the property of Heublein, Inc., which will have the right to use any or all entries for advertising, publicity and promotional purposes.

[illegible] and description. Three (3) Second [illegible] winners will each receive $1,000 cash.

All winners will be required to sign an affidavit certifying their eligibility and [illegible] and promotional purposes by Heublein, Inc. All Federal, State and local taxes are the sole responsibility of winners. Prizes are not transferable and no substitution allowed for prizes as listed.

5. This contest is open to residents of the United States, except employees (and their families) of Heublein, Inc., International Marketing Group, Inc., and their respective advertising agencies. Wholesale and retail businesses serving alcoholic beverages in the United States are not eligible to win prizes. This contest is void where prohibited by law. NO PURCHASE NECESSARY TO ENTER.

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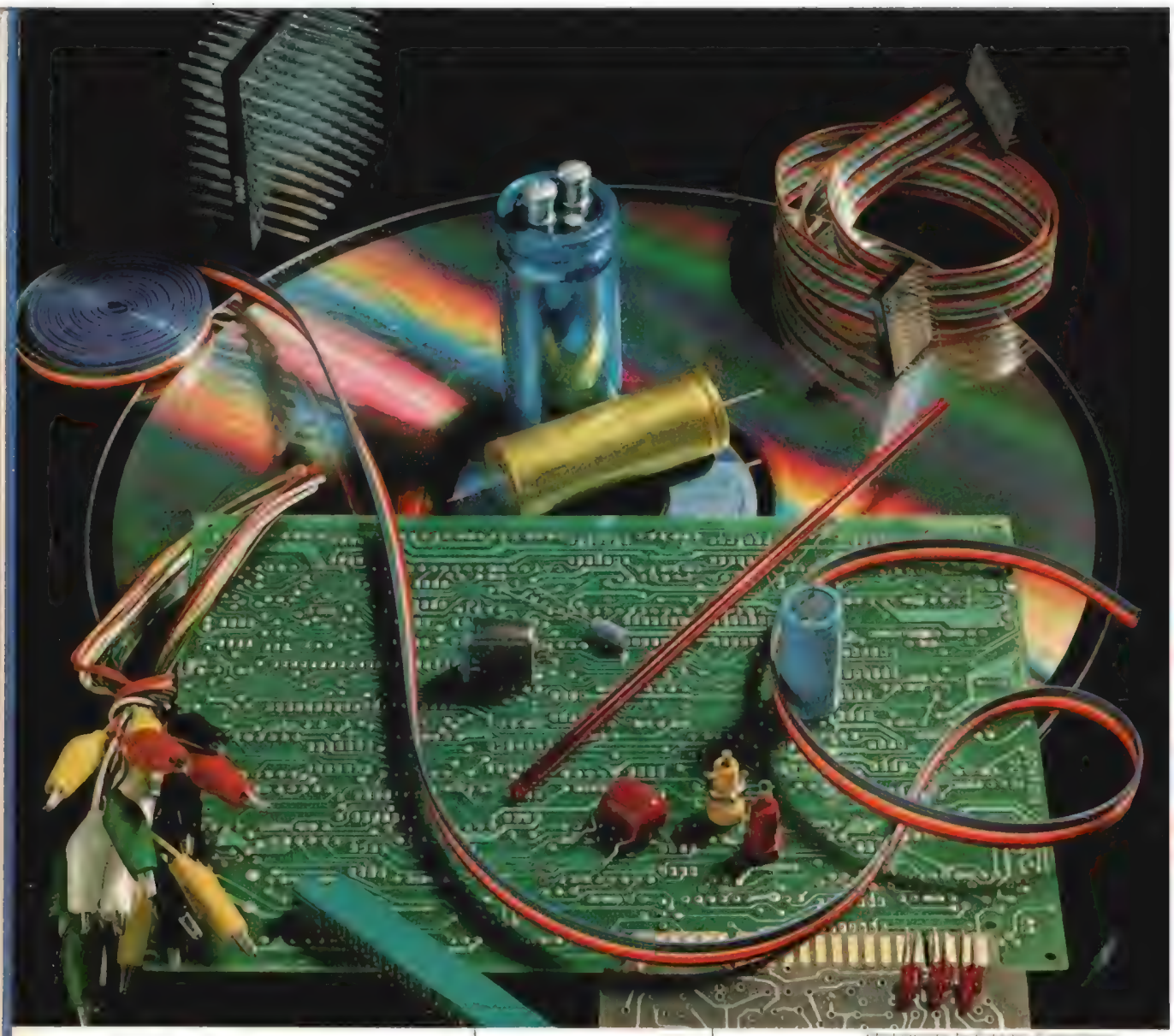
DIVISION OF HEUBLEIN, INC., HARTFORD, CT. MADE IN U.S.A.



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The consumer advocate denounces "legal Frankensteins" at the Washington convention

Nader's Antibusiness Bust

Demonstrations by press release against corporate America

The organizers were remarkably heterogeneous: Ralph Nader and his allies among union leaders, politicians and economists, but also Actor Ed Asner and Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. The cause: taking a poke at U.S. corporations on April 17, "Big Business Day." The place: demonstrations at 150 cities around the country. The charges: from the predictable (pollution, consumer gouging, union busting, governmental corruption) to the obscure (opposing the Equal Rights Amendment, causing high taxes and spoiling New York City's subway system). The reaction: a fairly large yawn.

Big Business Day organizers last week bypassed New York City, the epicenter of corporate America, as too diffuse to be attacked. Instead they trained their guns on a Washington gathering in the Cannon House Office Building. Some moments in the daylong affair were moving. Joanna Hale, 26, representing the Love Canal Homeowners' Association, denounced Hooker Chemical Co. for the chemical waste seepage in Niagara Falls, N.Y., that they say made residents ill. Joyce Bichler, who underwent a hysterectomy at 18 because her mother was given the drug DES during pregnancy to prevent a miscarriage, declared: "Eli Lilly has given me cancer." She has won a $500,000 damage suit against the drug company.

Most of Big Business Day was more predictable. Nader denounced U.S. corporations as "legal Frankensteins" that usurp human rights; a local labor leader declared a union war on business. In the National Visitor Center Gallery at Union Station, a "Corporate Hall of Shame" was erected for eleven companies, including Exxon, Citicorp and Du Pont.

Nader called last week's activities merely the beginning of a long drive to get Congress to pass the Corporate Democracy Act. Aimed at the U.S.'s 800 largest firms, the proposed bill would require a majority of independent directors on corporate boards, extensive public disclosure by companies of pollutant emissions and on-the-job injuries, and a two-year notice for plant closings.

The response from business was irritation, self-defense and what amusement it could afford. Du Pont Chairman Irving S. Shapiro called Big Business Day "an ideological Woodstock." Mobil Vice President Herb Schmertz said it was "demonstration by press release." The U.S. Chamber of Commerce covered the front of its Washington office with gigantic American flags and probusiness signs. "This is obviously a self-serving day by Ralph Nader and some labor leaders," said President Richard Lesher. The conservative Heritage Foundation declared April 17 "Growth Day."

Name-calling aside, businessmen consider the Nader-backed bill dangerous and unworkable. The two-year notification on plant closings, for example, is unfeasible because any talented employees and much business would be lost between announcement and shutdown. Alexander Trowbridge, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, calls the bill "a mixed bag of well-intentioned motives, faulty law and a flawed understanding of how our economic system actually works." Tibor R. Machan, professor of Marxist economics and business ethics at the University of California in Santa Barbara, charged: "This proposed piece of legislation is the abandonment of due process when it comes to dealing with members of the business community. More and more, people in business are regarded as guilty of something or other without having been *found* guilty." Sparse crowds attended most of the rallies last week. The bill is given little chance of passage soon. ■

Mighty Mice

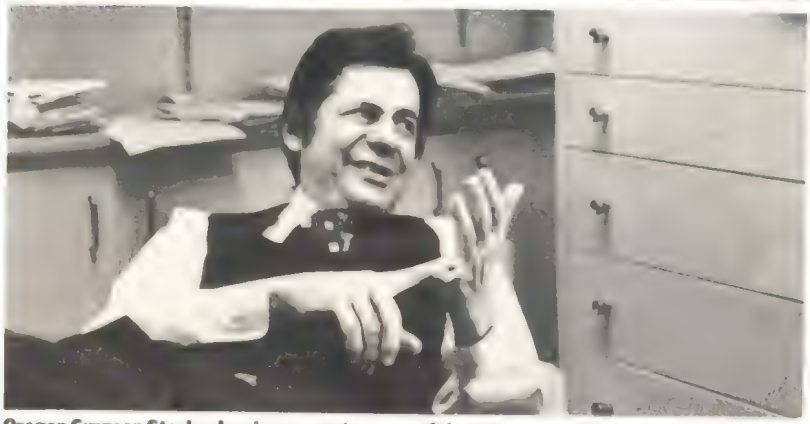
Naked came the rodents

Building a better mousetrap was too prosaic for Boston-born Veterinarian Henry Foster. Instead, he built a better mouse—millions of them. Thirty years ago, Foster, whose degree came from a nonaccredited school in Massachusetts, paid $1,300 for some traps and pens from an abandoned Maryland rat farm, shipped them to Boston and went into business as Charles River Breeding Laboratories, Inc. Today Charles River, located on a 60-acre spread in Wilmington, Mass., is the world's largest supplier of animals for scientific research. In 1979 the firm netted $3 million on sales of $30 million and paid a dividend of 34¢ a share. This year the company will dispatch more than 18 million of its well-bred rats, mice, hamsters, guinea pigs, rabbits and monkeys to research laboratories throughout the world, where in the name of science the creatures will debauch themselves gobbling saccharin, lushing liquor and inhaling cigarette smoke.

Charles River critters have a distinguished history in the development and testing of vitamins, antibiotics, insulin, contraceptives and cancer drugs. Now the company has another product: the nude, athymic mouse, a hairless, pink-colored model bred without a thymus, the gland that helps the body develop immunity against outside infection. The first of these mice was an unexpected mutation, which was then bred to other mice in the Charles River labs. Now the company turns out more than 250,000 of these beasts annually. They are especially useful in cancer research because they will not reject a tumor transplant like other laboratory animals. Unfortunately, they will not reject any other diseases either, and so they must be raised in a totally germ-free environment; researchers have to scrub down and wear face masks before entering the breeding lab. Because the care is expensive, the bare rodent sells for $12, *vs.* 70¢ for Charles River's regular furry off-the-shelf mouse. ■

Charles River's athymic mouse in the buff

Debauchery in the name of science.



Oregon Surgeon Stanley Jacob enumerates uses of the controversial drug

DMSO Dustup

Wonder or quack drug?

It relieves the pain and swelling of arthritis, heals burns, soothes toothaches, eases headaches and muscle strains, and clears up viral, fungal and bacterial infections. It helps retarded children, prevents paralysis from spinal-cord injuries, and even grows hair on bald pates. And it is safe to use. At least so claim the dedicated defenders of dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO), which was enthusiastically promoted as a "wonder drug" in the early 1960s but then fell from grace after the Food and Drug Administration halted its testing in 1965 because of possible harmful side effects.

Now a combination of a congressional hearing, an erroneous press report that the Arthritis Foundation had urged FDA approval of the drug and a segment on the TV show *60 Minutes* have put DMSO back in the spotlight and renewed the controversy over its effectiveness. Is DMSO, as its supporters stubbornly claim, "the aspirin of the 21st century"? Or is it, as its detractors insist, merely a quack drug, "another Laetrile"?

Though DMSO was discovered by a Russian scientist in 1866, it attracted little interest until the 1950s when increasing industrial uses were found for it. DMSO, derived as a byproduct in converting trees to paper, is an antifreeze and a versatile solvent for a broad spectrum of chemicals. But scientists were startled to find it also had a remarkable capacity to penetrate skin and tissues and enter the bloodstream; its only apparent side effects were an oysterlike taste in the mouth and a garlicky breath odor.

A pioneer in exploring DMSO's medicinal uses, and an ardent champion ever since, was Surgeon Stanley Jacob of the University of Oregon Health Sciences Center, who in the early 1960s began by trying it in isolated cases of burns, sprained ankles and arthritis. From those beginnings, he says, "the uses grew like Topsy."

By 1965 some 100,000 people were using DMSO, primarily to treat sprains, bruises, minor burns and arthritis. The FDA's concern about such widespread use of an experimental drug grew into alarm when animal studies indicated that DMSO might cause eye damage. That led to a virtual ban on clinical tests of the drug. But only a year later the restrictions were eased to permit experiments in such hard-to-treat illnesses as interstitial cystitis (a painful bladder inflammation), scleroderma (a condition characterized by thickening and hardening of the skin and sometimes internal organs as well) and rheumatoid arthritis.

Though no one is sure of the long-term side effects of human use, DMSO is now generally held, even by the FDA, to be a comparatively safe drug, though it can cause skin rashes and hives, and has been associated with headaches and nausea. Eye damage, reported in laboratory animals, has not been confirmed. The big sticking point in the DMSO debate is efficacy. So far, the drug has won FDA approval for general use only in cystitis. The agency contends that it has received few applications for controlled tests of the drug and that most data supporting its use for other ailments come from poorly designed studies, something Jacob and other enthusiasts dispute.

Evaluating DMSO has proved exceptionally difficult in part because of its peculiar properties. Drugs are usually evaluated in what are known as double-blind, controlled experiments in which patients receive either the test substance or a placebo. To ensure objectivity, neither the patients nor the doctors know who got what until after the study is over. But the distinctive taste and odor of DMSO leave no doubt about which patients have received the real drug.

Jacob, who admits he is obsessed with DMSO (he attributes his three divorces to his fascination), claims that bureaucratic obstinacy has hampered approval of the substance. Says he: "DMSO's too good. If I had said it was only of value for sprained ankles, it would have been approved. But when I talked about a huge gamut of usage, it was anathema. It had not been seen before." The FDA disagrees, claiming that it is open-minded about the drug. Dr. J. Richard Crout, director of the FDA bureau of drugs, testifying last month at a hearing on DMSO before the House Committee on Aging, insisted that the agency was "willing, indeed anxious" to approve further uses for the drug if claims were substantiated.

Despite the restrictions on the use of DMSO, thousands of Americans still manage to obtain it. Some use a form of the drug that has been approved for veterinary use or even resort to the industrial solvent. Others travel to shady DMSO arthritis clinics in Mexico. This has alarmed the Arthritis Foundation, which, despite erroneous press reports, has advocated only the testing of DMSO. Says Foundation Official Charles Bennett: "There is a good deal of evidence that DMSO may be effective as a short-term painkiller, but there is no scientific proof that it reduces swelling and inflammation. We advise arthritis victims not to listen to the DMSO siren song and not to try to get the drug by some devious means." ■

Farmers' Risk

They seem more cancer-prone

Life on the farm may be healthier than city living in many respects, but researchers at the University of Iowa have found that the state's farmers run much higher risks than urban dwellers of developing and dying from six types of cancer. Analyzing the death certificates of more than 20,000 white male Iowans, Dr. Leon Burmeister and his colleagues found that prostate, stomach, lymph gland and lip cancer, as well as leukemia and multiple myeloma (a form of bone marrow cancer), occurred up to three times more frequently among farmers.

Burmeister, associate professor of preventive medicine and environmental health, cannot explain the higher incidences among farmers, but concedes they may be somehow related to farming demands and practices. The cause of lip cancer, which was three times more common among farmers than their city brethren, seems obvious. Explains Burmeister: "We could say with a fair amount of confidence that it is probably related to sun exposure. But for the others, particularly prostatic cancer, we don't really know." He speculates that leukemia may be related to dairy farming or to corn raising. "It is certainly something worth pursuing," he says, "but it will take a long time to make the connection, if we ever make it." ■

THIS IS THE ARMY

"THE ARMY'S GIVEN ME A LOT OF RESPONSIBILITY. AND A LOT OF PRIDE IN MYSELF."

Spec. 4 Steven Higby, Ft. Sill, Oklahoma

The Army can really make you feel good about yourself. Sometimes, it's a medal you get. Most of the time, it's the pride you earn. The pride that comes from doing a really worthwhile job the best you know how.

CHALLENGE

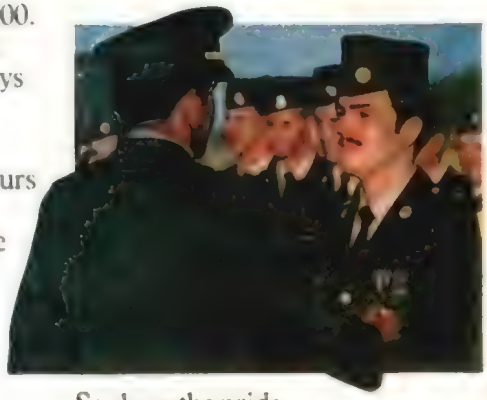
In the Army, you find out just how good you are. You learn by doing. You get rigorous hands-on training on some of the most sophisticated equipment in the world. And you quickly become skilled at what you do. And confident in who you are.

PAY AND BENEFITS

There are monetary rewards, too. Starting pay is now up to $448.80 a month, before deductions. Bonuses for certain four-year enlistments go up to $3000. Plus you can get educational benefits and earn up to 30 days paid vacation a year.

FREE TIME

Though you're a soldier 24 hours a day, you will get time off. Most Army posts have a wide variety of sports and entertainment facilities. And a major city is usually within a hour's drive.



PEOPLE

There's no military hardware to replace the human heart, no computer to out-think the mind. We need people. We are people.

So share the pride that comes from serving your country. Contact your local Army Representative. Look in the Yellow Pages under "Recruiting."

JOIN THE PEOPLE WHO'VE JOINED THE ARMY.

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9 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

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Is the Ayatullah a Heretic?

Experts say hostage taking is against Muhammad's teachings

The Ayatullah Khomeini is a unique, three-in-one figure: revolutionary, *de facto* head of state, and spiritual leader. He has made much of his religious role and his rejection of the ways and means of the secular and corrupt Western world. Islam requires the truly dedicated to follow a most detailed ethical system. For Muslims, the present crisis in Iran has raised some perplexing questions. Are good Muslims permitted to indulge in hostage taking? In peacetime, during a jihad (holy war), or not at all? And, depending on the answer, how good a Muslim is the Ayatullah Khomeini?

For guidance in such matters, Muslims usually turn first to the Koran, then to the Hadith, a collection of the teachings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad. They also rely on a legal code that Islamic jurists developed centuries before Europe heard of international law. A TIME survey of Islamic scholars shows that religious justification for holding the U.S. hostages can hardly be found in any of these three sources.

When the Iranians understand the Koran, states Sri Lanka's ascetic M.R. Bawa Muhaiyaddeen, a teacher in the mystical Sufi movement, now living in Philadelphia, "they will release the hostages immediately." Muhaiyaddeen has sent Khomeini three fervent epistles, urging him to free the captives and repent of his vengeance lest Islam be further disgraced before the world. Even in Iran, the Ayatullah Kazem Sharietmadari, second only to Khomeini in popularity, privately considers the embassy seizure an "abuse of Islam" and has told a confidant: "I have never been so worried in my life —not only about Iran but also about Islam's image." In places like East Africa, scholars treat Iran as an embarrassment.

Islamic tradition has always extended charity to diplomats and wayfarers. According to the *Mishkat-ul-Masabih*, a standard Hadith text, an enemy courier named Abu Rafi converted to Islam, but Muhammad insisted he return to his tribe so that the Prophet might avoid even a faint suspicion that he had taken Rafi as a hostage. Muhammad declared flatly, "I do not break treaties, nor do I make prisoners of envoys." The Koran 9:6 insists that even a religious enemy be granted asylum and conveyed to safety.

Islamic law holds "unequivocally that the restriction of the physical freedom of any human is forbidden, except where that human is personally involved in crime," Ismail R. al Faruqi wrote last January in the Pakistani Muslim journal *Universal Message*. "The employees of any embassy do not fall in this category." Envoys who misbehave cannot be imprisoned, only expelled or fined to pay for any property damage. He also says the imprisonment violates the Koran's declaration that "no soul can be charged with the sins of another."

Rules change somewhat in wartime. The Prophet's army took prisoners of war to weaken the enemy or to exchange for his own captured soldiers. But even in war, tradition asserts, hostages must only be taken in the heat of battle, and never by civilians. At the climactic Battle of Badr, Muhammad's troops took 70 hostages and exchanged them for a large ransom. Islam outlaws making war for purposes of revenge or simply to acquire wealth. Commentators explain the Badr ransom by saying that it was a special case. The Prophet was just levying a fine in the form of a ransom in order to punish religious oppressors.

Is the Ayatullah waging a holy war? Mohammed Ahmad Khalafalla, a respected Islamic scholar in Egypt, says the present confrontation with the U.S. is not a holy war, which must be a war against infidels to protect the faith. Despite the fact that the Ayatullah keeps referring to the U.S. as "the great Satan," Khalafalla sees the struggle as a political feud, which makes the hostage imprisonment nothing more than kidnaping, a crime that Islam does not countenance.

The religious doctrines at issue in the hostage dispute theoretically could be settled by a Koranic interpretation from the Supreme Council for Islamic Research at Al Azhar Mosque and University in Cairo. Its rulings are not binding, but they carry the weight of the most influential center of Muslim scholarship. Such a ruling, however, is unlikely. The council now is used mainly to study the application of the Koran to such modern problems as private property *vs.* the rights of the poor. Besides, though some 50 council members come from about 20 nations, Egypt is now isolated in the Islamic world because of its peace treaty with Israel, and the council could not hear witnesses from all sides.

SAL DI MARCO JR.

Sufi Teacher Muhaiyaddeen holds forth in Philadelphia

Understand the Koran and release the hostages.

Many Muslim scholars are reluctant to speak out because of the local appeal of Iran's revolution. Some sympathize with Khomeini. Two weeks ago, after the general chairman of the governing party in Indonesia, which has the biggest Muslim population in the world, publicly denounced Khomeini as a "madman." Indonesia's most influential theologian, Abdul Karim Malik Amrullah, said: "Khomeini may be mad, but revolutions are made with such people. Who am I to condemn a Muslim leader who is only beginning his revolution?" Amrullah added, however, "I cannot understand why he keeps the hostages."

Khomeini offers no answer to challenges from Muslim scholars. His policy is defended by Mohammed Javad Bahonar, a theologian on Iran's Revolutionary Council, who says that both Islam and the U.S. Constitution recognize the right of oppressed people to rebel against a tyrannical government that makes "specious" appeals to law. As for the Prophet Muhammad's explicit command to protect diplomats, another Revolutionary Council member, the Ayatullah Abdul Karim Mousavi Ardebili, thinks the U.S. situation is different: "The envoy to whom the Prophet promised safe conduct was not trying to stab the Islamic community in the back."

A theologian in the Ayatullah Sharietmadari's circle can only shake his head at such arguments. "We criticize the Communists because, we claim, they believe the end justifies the means. By taking the Americans hostage, we have proved we are attached to the same view." ■

Music

Pick of the Season

An informal consumer guide to current rock and pop

Check them out, tune them in, slip them on, let them spin. Herewith, a spring garland of rock and pop, with a few sprigs of hemlock for good measure.

Public Image Ltd.: Second Edition (Island/Warner Bros.). The weather forecast on the far frontiers of rock is a little cold and spooky, if this record is any indication. Alternately rigorous and unhinged, steam-heated and strangulated, *Second Edition* is the collective work of the band John Lydon (a.k.a. Johnny Rotten) formed when he broke with the Sex Pistols. The Pistols' music was like a mugging; Public Image's is like a football match in purgatory. Using repeated chords, shattered rhythms and lyrics that sound like electrocuted William Burroughs ("Spreading tales/ Like coffin nails/ Is this living"), Public Image puts on a kind of psychic garage sale whose object is to bankrupt conventional rock. "Wouldn't waste the effort on entertainment," Lydon sings in *Chant*, and the band plays by that rule for four adventurous sides.

Lou Reed: Growing Up in Public (Arista). Wherever Lydon and all other assorted punks, new wavers and no wavers may have come from, no matter where they are all headed, Lou Reed has already been there. Public Image owes a debt to the saber-toothed experiments of Reed's late '60s band, the Velvet Underground, and Reed still remains several furlongs ahead of anyone in laying down jagged fragments of autobiography that cut like pieces of a shattered mirror. *Growing Up in Public* is a collection of primal assaults and tentative love songs that all together are like a return ticket from a voyage to the end of the night.

Bob Seger & The Silver Bullet Band: Against the Wind (Capitol). Out a few weeks, and a thorough smash, this album is a collection of loose-limbed rockers and high-reaching ballads. Every cut has its eye fixed on the top of the charts with such calculation and skill that listening to the whole record straight through is like being held for ransom at *WKRP*. Seger is a topflight regional rocker out of Detroit, but this time around he is sticking to formula so rigidly that he has started to rewrite himself.

The J. Geils Band: Love Stinks (EMI-America). Best title of the year. "I been through diamonds/ I been through minks/ I been through it all/ Love stinks" is good cautionary advice for a heady season. It's not Sir John Suckling, but it sure beats Seger's pastilles about star-crossed lovers and drip-dry romances. The J Geils Band, like Seger, has a hard r & b foundation, but, unlike Seger, they are not going overripe. This is a good-times record that makes no apologies for its frivolity, comes off fresh, wild and goofy —like a recital by a bunch of hubcap thieves who just graduated from the Famous Comedians School.

Billy Joel: Glass Houses (Columbia). Stung by his success with what the music biz still calls "middle-of-the-road" audiences, Billy Joel, an excellent balladeer and misplaced Broadway composer, set out to make an album that rocked harder and hung tougher. Although one of the tunes here is called *It's Still Rock and Roll to Me*, the music sounds like Broadway without a book, and the lyrics are full of the backhand arrogance that Joel mistakes for true rock spirit. Midway through Side 2, Billy backs off a little and decides to flash his cosmopolitan credentials by trying a lyric in French. He isn't fluent in that language either.

Frank Sinatra: Trilogy (Reprise). Well, yes, he is weatherbeaten, and there is some rust in the pipes. Little relevance, less matter. Frank Sinatra gargling would still make most other pop singers sound like ventriloquists or, in some cases, their dummies. *Trilogy* is a rather unwieldy three-record set in which Ol' Blue Eyes explores the past, the present and the future. Each of the three sections carries a cumbersome subtitle (one is called *Reflections on the Future in Three Tenses*), but Sinatra checks this kind of weight at the door. There are some fine passes at old favorites (*My Shining Hour, More Than You Know*); some comfortable negotiating with contemporary material, including *New York, New York*, Billy Joel's *Just the Way You Are* (pay a little attention here, Billy); and, astonishingly, a beautiful rendition of Jimmy Webb's *MacArthur Park*, which Sinatra has built up simply by scaling down the psychedelic reveries (imagine him singing "Someone left the cake out in the rain") and letting a shimmering love song stand plain and perfect. The third record of the set is a Gordon Jenkins orchestral fantasia about things to come. It is entirely dispensable. For Frank Sinatra, the future is now.

Pete Townshend: Empty Glass (Atco). A diary of open-throttle intensity with no idling speed. Townshend, taking his second solo shot without the Who, cuts loose with ten songs that are like rounds of some unarmed psychic combat. *I Am an Animal* is a saw-toothed bit of self-mockery and self-appraisal. *Let My Love Open the Door* and *A Little Is Enough* love songs with a spiritual finish and a nice carnal edge. *Rough Boys* a terrific street anthem, and the title cut an elaborate meditation on musical survivors and musical pretenders. "I've been there and gone there/ I've lived there and bummed there/ I've spilled there, I gave there/" Townshend sings, and there are few rock musicians who can make that kind of claim and make it stick, fewer yet who can do it with such a feverish beauty. There can be no question: Townshend is one of the true life forces of rock music. *Empty Glass* is a promise fulfilled and renewed, most likely in perpetuity.

— ***Jay Cocks***

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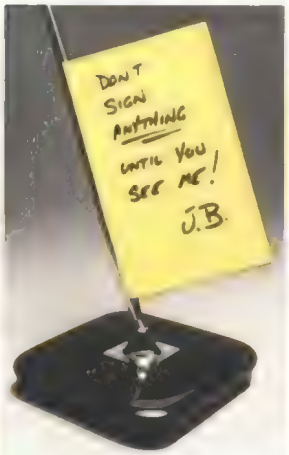

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Dr. David M. Anderson, Corporate Director, Environmental Affairs

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Making the Crimes Fit the Times

At last, Congress may revise the dated criminal laws

There are federal laws that forbid persons to detain a Government carrier pigeon or to use the likeness of Smokey Bear without permission, and bar seamen from seducing passengers on a steamship. Yet there is no national statute prohibiting bank extortion, and some espionage offenses are buried in the chapter on atomic energy. These are just a few of the peculiarities of federal criminal law, a hodgepodge of 3,000 statutes that have accumulated since the first days of the republic. As a whole, says Senate Judiciary Committee Special Counsel Kenneth Feinberg, the aide most responsible for promoting a new code, the nation's current criminal laws are "terribly unfair, archaic and inefficient."

Congress has tried for 14 years to revise the code, only to be thwarted by philosophical wrangling. Two attempts in the early 1970s, the so-called S. 1 bill and another measure drafted by the Nixon Administration, collapsed under the plaints of civil libertarians, who objected to the proposals' strong law-and-order bent. Then came S. 1437, known as "Son of S. 1"; a less harsh version of the original, it passed in the Senate but died in committee in the House. Now there is S. 1722, or "Grandson of S. 1," a 440-page epic whose chief sponsor is Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy. Partly because it is more sensitive to defendants' rights than its predecessors, it may pass.

The Senate is expected to approve the Kennedy bill in May. The test will come in the House, the graveyard of other code reform efforts. The House version of the proposed code, which follows existing law more closely than the Senate bill, is now before the Judiciary Committee. Its backers, led by Massachusetts' liberal Democrat Robert Drinan, believe the measure will reach the House floor, possibly in June. If both chambers approve the legislation, it will be up to a House-Senate panel to reconcile the differences.

Right now, some of those differences are considerable. The House bill is preferred by civil libertarians to the Senate version, which John Shattuck, legislative director of the American Civil Liberties Union, derides as "a prosecutor's dream." Three main areas of conflict:

Sentencing. The present system is based on the now discredited theory that prisons rehabilitate; criminals are given lengthy terms, but routinely receive parole. The Senate bill calls for more uniform, realistic sentences and the elimination of early parole; the House proposal retains parole. Advocates of the Senate version argue that continuance of parole would undermine the reform effort; knowing that terms can be cut short, judges will continue to give unrealistically long sentences. The Senate bill would also allow both the Government and defendants to appeal sentences in certain circumstances. The House measure would allow this only for defendants.

Bail. Now the only criterion in noncapital cases for determining whether a suspect should be freed on bail is the likelihood that he will appear for trial. The Senate bill would also allow judges to detain a suspect if he seemed dangerous. The A.C.L.U. says that such preventive detention would be a denial of the presumption of innocence. The House version would not change bail procedures.

White-Collar Crime. At first the Senate bill contained several measures making companies and executives more vulnerable to criminal law. For example, one provision was that officials could be tried for "reckless endangerment" if, say, their firm dumped harmful chemicals into a river feeding a municipal water supply. But business lobbyists persuaded the drafters to remove the most stringent measures. The Department of Justice managed to get some of the provisions restored, but only in diluted form. Even so, the Senate bill is tougher than the House version, which, according to Justice, now contains fewer sanctions involving white-collar crime than does existing law.

On most matters, the two bills are closer together. Both would make it easier to prosecute rape and tougher to impose gag orders on the press. Sex discrimination, like race discrimination, would become a crime. To come even this far has required much work: the hearing transcripts run for almost 20,000 pages. Supporters of the reform effort concede that a new code will not cure the nation's crime problems, but they are determined to complete the task. Another failure would mean starting all over again next year, and right now fatigue among the bills' backers is so great that many doubt there could be a "Great-grandson of S. 1." ■

Judiciary Committee Special Counsel Kenneth Feinberg amid stacks of reports

Out of 20,000 pages of testimony, a 440-page bill that might even pass.

House Arrests

The court requires warrants

Until last week, police in at least 24 states could arrest a felony suspect in his home without a warrant. No longer. In a 6-3 decision on two New York cases, the Supreme Court ruled that lawmen everywhere need warrants for such arrests, except possibly in "exigent circumstances," like hot pursuit of a criminal. Otherwise, evidence seized at the time cannot be used by the prosecution.

In the majority opinion Justice John Paul Stevens noted that Fourth Amendment safeguards against unreasonable searches and seizures specifically mention "the right of the people to be secure in their . . . houses." The Constitution, he wrote, has "drawn a firm line at the entrance to the house." Police have long been required to have warrants to make most nonconsensual searches; this, said the majority, should also apply to arrests. The fact that the court as a whole rejected Justice Byron White's dissenting opinion that the decision would only help felons avoid capture may signal a significant change: in the early and mid-1970s the Justices usually took a hard line in Fourth Amendment decisions, chipping away at the liberal precedents established by the Warren Court. ■

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A New Twist in Forecasting

Color-coded Doppler radar for earlier tornado warnings

Seated at a video console, the meteorologist intently watches the splashes of color as they flash across the screen. Spotting some possibly ominous patches, he zeroes in on one of the red and yellow areas. Then, fiddling with the controls, he orders up another display, showing tiny arrows circling counterclockwise and swirling ever closer in a tightening loop. After checking the coordinates on a map superimposed on his screen, the operator telephones an alert for the threatened area to the National Weather Service: a tornado may be about to strike.

As the U.S. endures its annual trial by tornado during the next two months, this scenario is likely to be repeated at the National Severe Storms Laboratory in Norman, Okla. The lab operates two new research radars that could be the prototypes for a tornado early-warning system. A sophisticated offspring of the familiar Doppler radar used by police to nab highway speeders, these electronic marvels for the first time are letting scientists peer into the very heart of storm systems in which tornadoes are born. Forecasters figure that should allow them to predict, more than 20 minutes in advance, when and where the terrifying funnels will hit the ground. Says Severe Storms Lab Director Edwin Kessler: "We can dissect a thunderstorm just like a warm-blooded animal. We can see air flows in great detail. We can see raindrops as well as flies or bees."

Tornadoes are the most violent of storms. Striking with little warning, they cut a narrow swath of almost complete destruction. Cars are hurled into the air and houses are splintered into kindling wood. By last week several outbreaks of tornadoes had already occurred in the South and Midwest, causing injuries and extensive damage. Indeed, about three-quarters of the world's tornadoes strike in the U.S., most of these in a belt nicknamed Tornado Alley that extends from Texas to Ohio and reaches as far east as the Appalachians and as far west as the Rockies. Since 1950 an average of 114 people in the U.S. have lost their lives to the deadly whirlwinds each year. Last week the Weather Service warned that if the 1980s prove to be a normal decade, at least 7,000 tornadoes will hit the U.S., killing as many as 1,000 people.

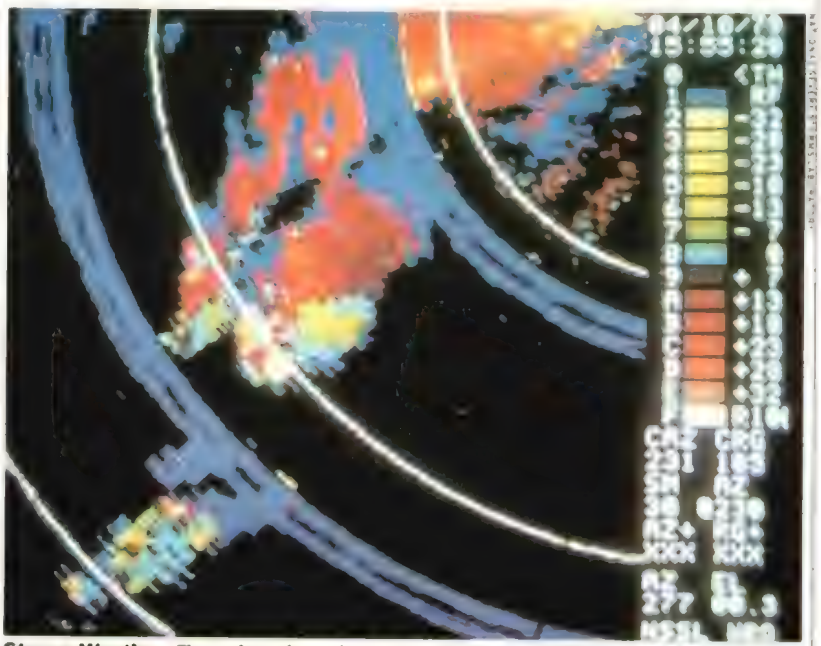
That toll could be sharply reduced if enough Doppler weather radar stations are built in the tornado-prone regions. In fact the Norman lab's Doppler, propitiously located in the heart of the tornado belt, has already shown its future value. On April 10 last year, the radar spotted the evolving tornado-producing storm that devastated Wichita Falls, Texas.

Conventional radar stations on which Tornado Alley still depends are capable of picking up certain telltale signs that can presage tornadoes, including so-called hook echoes—reflections from areas of heavy precipitation surrounding a rotating parcel of air. But they cannot detect actual movement within the storm. By contrast, Doppler radar not only measures the direction of air flows, but actually clocks the speeds of raindrops and ice particles as they are whirled about in a brewing tornado.

The radar relies on a phenomenon first explained by the 19th century physicist Christian Doppler, who observed that sound waves from an approaching source—say the whistle on a speeding train—rise in pitch (or frequency), while the waves from a departing source decrease in pitch. Applying the same principle to radio waves, Doppler radar uses shifts in frequency of the electromagnetic echoes from a storm system to measure motions within it. The research station in Oklahoma is capable of making almost 1 million measurements in a minute. These data are digested by a powerful computer and displayed as color-coded patterns on screens in the center's control room.

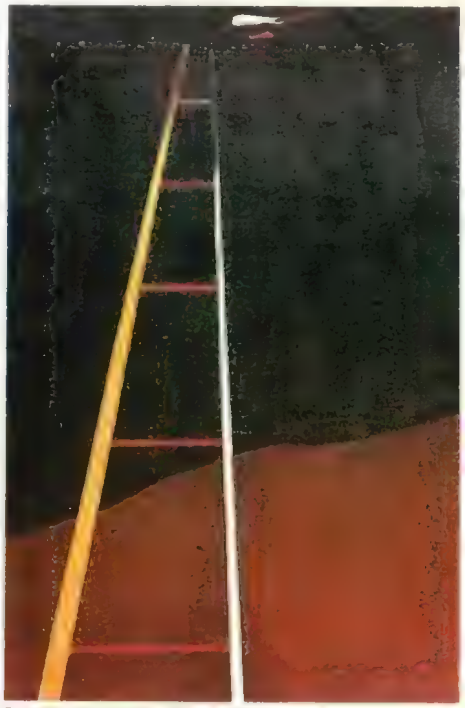
The first important revelation about tornadoes from Doppler radar was identification of the characteristic patterns of large, rotating air masses, known as mesocyclones, which frequently spawn twisters. Forecasters have since learned to spot even smaller areas of rapid rotation that represent actual incipient tornadoes, and have predicted within a kilometer (0.6 mile) where they will touch down. Since 1977, when they began sustained testing of their skills, the Oklahoma scientists spotted tornadoes aborning an average of 21.4 minutes before they struck. By contrast, warnings issued by the Weather Service's regular Oklahoma City office on the basis of ordinary radar preceded the twisters by an average of only 2.2 minutes.

Still, all of the new technology is useless if the public does not know how to respond properly to a warning. Many people in Wichita Falls, hearing advance alerts, made for their cars instead of shelters, hoping to outrace the funnel. As a result, the majority of the storm deaths were associated in one way or another with motor vehicles. Noted a federal report: "In 16 of the vehicle-related deaths, the victims had got into their cars or trucks specifically to escape the tornado's path. The homes of eleven of these victims did not have major damage." ■



Stormy Weather. *Tornadoes shown brewing on Severe Storms Lab's Doppler radar screen April 10, 1979, the day eleven twisters devastated Texas-Oklahoma region. Colors are computer coding for wind speeds and direction. Thus red indicates maximum velocity away from radar; yellow maximum toward it. Arcs show intervals of 100 km (60 miles), and scale at right, wind velocity in meters per second.*

Cubism and recollection: *The Farm*, 1921-22



***Dog Barking at the Moon*, 1926**

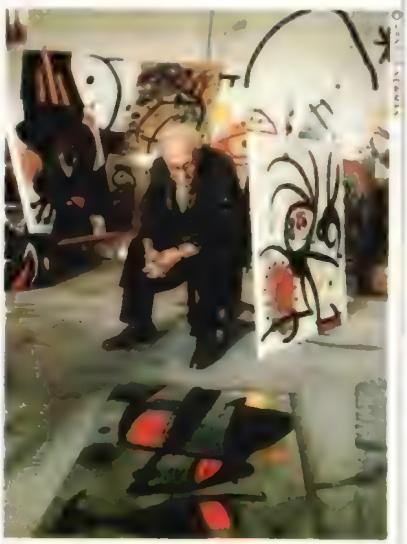
Art

Voyager into Indeterminate Space

A Joan Miró retrospective in Washington

Art historians have never been comfortable with Joan Miró. A surrealist? The admirers of Dali or Magritte would not agree. An abstractionist? Miró says he never painted an abstraction in his life. Everything "is always a sign of something. It is always a man, a bird, or something else," he insists. The Miró admirers who have now mounted a selection of 45 of his paintings at Washington's Hirshhorn Museum have another proposition: Miró is simply a great painter. Says Hirshhorn Director Abram Lerner: "Miró's place is alongside the most fertile of those giants —Picasso and Matisse."

The show, which moves to Buffalo's Albright-Knox Art Gallery in June, supports this notion, embracing as it does nearly every period in Miró's long career (he was 87 last week). The angular planes of *Standing Nude*, 1918, for example, show that the young goldsmith's son, painting in Barcelona, had already studied reproductions of the works of the cubists in Paris. Because of World War I, Miró could not get to Paris himself until 1919. By then he was 26 and a determined individualist: he remained very much the hedgehog (who knew one big thing) amidst the gabbling foxes (who knew many things) of Paris' cafés. He returned to Spain to paint *The Farm*, 1921-22, which proved he was not too intimidated by his Paris experience: though it had the cubists' flat composition, it was detailed with the intimate knowledge only a farm boyhood could achieve. Ernest Hemingway, who bought the painting, wrote appreciatively: "It has in it all that you feel about Spain when you are there and all that you feel when you are away and cannot go there."

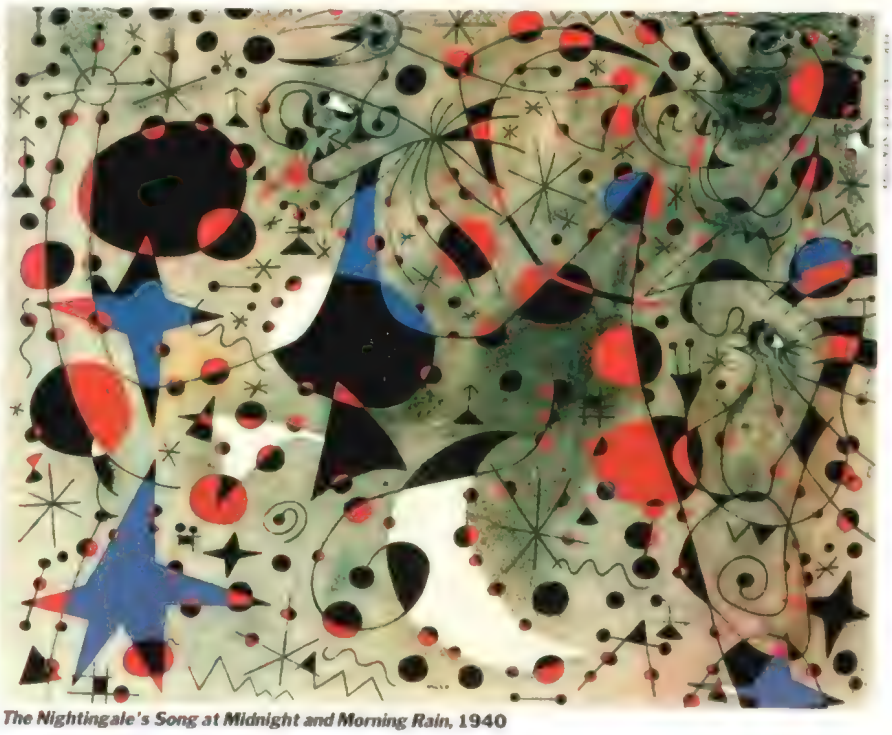


The artist in his studio on Majorca

Chinks in the walls, shapes on the ceiling.

A lesser man could have made a career out of repeating a style of such individuality (Raoul Dufy? Vlaminck?). But once Miró had perfected it, he abandoned it. In a transformation as abrupt as Picasso's switch from the soft-edged, attenuated figures of his blue period to the African ferocities of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, Miró launched into his "dream paintings." These were derived partly from his fascination with his new surrealist friends in Paris, Breton and Eluard, and their talk of dream imagery, free association, irrational juxtaposition. And partly from plain hunger. As Miró explains, "Sometimes I hadn't had any supper. I saw things . . . I saw shapes in the chinks in the walls and shapes on the ceiling." Typical of this period is *Carnival of Harlequin*, 1924-25, which squirms with a profusion of shapes—a black, writhing snake with a huge white-gloved hand where its head should be; a startled cat's face in search of a proper body; a jack-in-the-box with bee's wings.

From Miró's poet friends ("I make no distinction between poetry and painting") came other images that he painted and then made unforgettable, such as *Dog Barking at the Moon*, 1926, a magical vision of a comic canine that never was reaching hopelessly toward a moon that could never be (and has a face).



The Nightingale's Song at Midnight and Morning Rain, 1940

Enough? Not for Miró, who seems to have had more ideas than he had time to express. And perhaps even he did not exactly know what he was doing. In painting *The Birth of the World*, 1925, he started with the background, a scumble of brush strokes and hesitations. What he achieved was a space, but one that has nothing to do with the receding perspectives of the Renaissance's vanishing point. It is indeterminate, a cave without walls, a space where a man could wander in his mind's eye and lose his bearings. Contemplating this beckoning No Where, Miró painted on it hard-edged iconographs that pinned the eye to the real surface, the mind to the real world. But not wholly. His image of the earth (a white circle) is only a diagram; the sun (a red circle) is disputed by an aggressive black triangle that symbolizes—what?

Years later, Arshile Gorky and Jackson Pollock were to seize on this evocative space, with its foreground frieze of totemic shapes, and develop their art upon it. Looking back in 1968, William Rubin of Manhattan's Museum of Modern Art said that Miró "is the major European progenitor of abstract expressionism."

Miró would never have thought of himself as a progenitor. But the idea of an undefined background space haunted him. Over the years he spread across it an increasingly personalized iconography of symbols, of figures and faces and shapes. Miró's images run back to the ancient drawings from the caves of Altamira that he saw in his youth. "One must refine the magical sense of things," he said, and the symbols and signs he created—a scribble for a bird, a bristle of lines for a star, a target for a breast—were images deeply lodged in the racial unconscious. Those included sexual symbols. There is scarcely a Miró painting that does not somewhere contain his icons for the female and male genitals, as isolated from sensual context as the biologist's symbols, and just as unvoluptuous. Male phalluses are always limp, and female vaginas sharp-edged and abstract, even when surrounded by flaring flames. "The sex organ has a poetic power, like a comet," Miró says.

Those figures—sometimes gay, sometimes grotesque—that posture against fathomless space are what Miró's latter-day disciples have most tried to imitate. But Miró could not care less. He still feels himself as an explorer. A series of canvases that he produced in 1961 are as empty as any minimalist could wish. In *Blue II*, a staccato of emphatic black shapes ends in an exclamation point of red, all set against an azure expanse. Says Miró: "Empty spaces, empty horizons, empty plains, everything that is stripped has always impressed me."

Poetry and emptiness combined: *Toward the Escape*, 1972

"Everything that is stripped has always impressed me."

And all his life, Miró loved to put poetic titles on his pictures. Example: *The Nightingale's Song at Midnight and Morning Rain*, 1940. Find the nightingale? The song? The rain? The viewer may never puzzle out any of these challenges, but he will have been forced to let his imagination investigate the whole of the picture.

In his later work, both that poetry and emptiness are combined, as in *Toward the Escape*, 1972. But ultimately what comes across is that Miró is supremely a painter qua painter. Matisse observed years ago that it doesn't matter what Miró represents on his canvas. But if at a certain place he has put a red spot, you can be sure that it had to be there and not elsewhere. Take it away and the painting collapses. — ***A.T. Baker***

Living

Lauren matches crested navy blazer with challis skirt, cardigan with Scottish kilt

Here Comes the Preppie Look

Fashion goes back to school, with a flair

Out with the baggy jeans, the *chinoiserie*, the gypsy queen regalia. In with the snappy blue blazers and tweed hacking jackets, button-down Oxford-cloth shirts and Shetland sweaters, khaki slacks and tartan skirts. This summer and fall, the fashion-conscious woman will be wearing exactly what the fashion-unconscious woman has been wearing for decades. It is currently labeled the Preppie Look, though the style has also been known as Ivy League, Town and Country, Brooks Brothers or—in England County. Mother would approve.

The Preppie* label derives, of course, from the clothes in which young aspirants to the gentry are expected to show up at the better preparatory schools on either side of the Atlantic. The term, however, does little justice to the actual look, which, with imagination and some bullion, does anything but turn a woman into an honorable schoolboy. The clothes are neat, crisp, classic; with various permutations, they can be romantic and understatedly sexy. The time-honored Fair Isle sweater, for example, now comes in bright, balletic colors as well as the traditional pastel yellows and blues. Madras jackets and Bermuda shorts now sport divers hues unknown in Madras. The shirtwaist dress has gone from demure to dashing. Add such touches as paisley bow ties, rainbow-hued knee socks, grosgrain headbands and Liberty scarves, and the viewer begins to wonder what kind of school the Preppie is attending.

*Though the male of the species is often called a preppy, when describing women's fashion the word is usually spelled *preppie*

Whatever the variations, this is the look that women across the U.S. are buying in quantity. Loafers—penny or tasseled—L.L. Bean moccasins and Bass Weejuns are so much a part of the ensemble that some shoe manufacturers are three months behind in filling their orders. Says a saleswoman at Pella, a high-fashion shoe store in Atlanta's Lenox Square: "If one more person comes in here and asks for Bass Weejuns, I think I'll scream." Stores that have always catered to the Preppie trade—notably, Saks Fifth Avenue, Lord & Taylor and, naturally, Brooks Brothers—report heavy sales of the basics, as well as such accessories as narrow neckties, webbed watch bands, ribbon belts, circle pins, single strands of pearls, bangle bracelets and brightly embroidered corduroys.

The vogue is not tied to any individual designer. Indeed, in some ways it represents a rebellion against duds that bear big-name labels. Says Armond Suacci, manager of Cable Car Clothiers in San Francisco: "Preppie people do not need designers because they already have taste

For spring and summer, Madras jacket with pink corduroys; Fair Isle sweater with yellow shorts; T-shirt dress; shorts and button-down shirt

in clothing." So far, the designer who has done most to popularize the look is Ralph Lauren, whose crested navy blazer costs $480; his silk pants sell for $175.

Many fashion experts point out that the basic appeal of Preppiana is that they are "investment clothes," meaning that they will comfortably ride out the whims of fashion. Though a Preppie item will almost always be cheaper than, say, a Pucci or Gucci equivalent, the investment can be substantial: a plaid skirt can sell for $115, a blazer for $100, a seersucker suit for $135. However, as a Brooks Brothers spokesman points out, the clothes appeal to women of all ages and backgrounds. "A career businesswoman can buy a corduroy suit or a British-looking houndstooth jacket and wear it for years. More college students than ever are buying these clothes." Says a fashion coordinator for a big Boston store: "Personally, I think it reflects the political atmosphere. It's a reassuring look, reminding people of earlier times that were perhaps saner." Like school days. ■

Monda-Mouton

A marriage in the vineyard

It is no secret that the best California wines rank with France's finest. The situation suggests marriage, no? Yes. Two of the world's proudest and most accomplished winemakers, Baron Philippe de Rothschild of Bordeaux and Robert Mondavi of the Napa Valley, have in fact already consummated the wedding, which was formally announced last week. The two vintners have joined together to make what they insist will be "the world's greatest wine." The first vintage under the new, as yet unnamed label was harvested last fall; its 2,000 cases are now aging at the Mondavi winery.

It is a unique consummation in the history of winemaking. Baron Philippe, of course, is the fourth-generation owner of Château Mouton Rothschild, one of the world's greatest wineries. Rothschild, whose late wife Pauline was American, has long admired California wines. Mondavi is the leading producer of premium varietals in the U.S. He travels frequently in Europe and has introduced French winemaking techniques and equipment to California. The red wines they will make together in the Napa Valley will be mostly from cabernet sauvignon grapes, with some merlot and cabernet franc, approximately the Mouton mix. The first bottles, to be released in 1983 at the earliest, will probably cost between $25 and $35. By comparison, a Mondavi Cabernet Reserve '74 sells for around $30. A Mouton Rothschild of a comparable year, say '75, fetches twice as much. As Robert Mondavi said years before the joint venture, "There is a place for a relatively small winery to produce, in a limited quantity, wines that will have the complexity and character to be found in the great growths of the world." ■

Theater

Yoked Animals

BARBARIANS *by Maxim Gorky*

While time and subject overlap in the plays of Chekhov and Gorky, the two men differ in their angles of vision. Chekhov was a cardiologist of the wounded heart; Gorky was a cartographer of a scarred social landscape. Chekhov's characters transcend their enervating environment; Gorky's characters drown in the swamp of their surroundings.

The landscape in this play is a tiny Russian village in the year 1905, where civilization is, at best, a rumor. Gorky populates the canvas of his drama with wife beaters, sodden vodkaholics, corrupt bureaucrats, venal merchants, sanctimonious hypocrites, neurotically damaged children and disaffected wives who have been churlishly and brutally scorned.

Like animals long used to a chafing yoke, the townsfolk can take known evils in stride. Ill winds from the outside world bring them something worse. Two engineers arrive to oversee the laying of railroad lines that will forever end the isolation of the town. The local timber merchant, Pritykin (Gary Bayer), hopes to grasp the railroad-ties concession in his sweaty palms. But mostly the villagers treat the coming of the engineers as if it were a visit from royalty, bringing a scent of urbanity to their drab dismal lives.

The elder of the engineers, Tsyganov (John Seitz), does have a drawing-room air about him. The younger engineer, Cherkoon (Jon Polito), is an ex-peasant who came from the town and seems to be using the rail line as a steam-lined revenge on his humdrum origins.

Despite *Barbarians'* three-hour evocation of a technologically doomed milieu, the most vivid image in the play is that of a woman burning with fitful passions. As a teasing *agent provocateur* of sex, Nadezhda, played with sensual animal magnetism by Sheila Allen, is a queen bee killer. Her husband, Monakhov (Brian Murray), whom she loathes, pleads for her love, holding his spectacles in his hand like a beggar with a tin cup. The seemingly amour-proof Tsyganov offers to sweep her off to Paris and is crushed by her cruel rebuke that at 49, he is disgustingly old. Under Cherkoon's touch, however, Nadezhda becomes an emotional tinderbox. Cherkoon has already enjoyed the favors of Lydia (Roxanne Hart), an achingly bored, terribly wealthy beauty who has been visiting her aunt, the town's only bona fide aristocrat. In one electrifying embrace, Nadezhda seems to claim Cherkoon for keeps. Abruptly, he rejects her, and she goes offstage to punctuate her life with a revolver shot. Her desolated husband turns to Cherkoon and asks, "What have you done? What have you done?" The unspoken answer is that the engineers have done what barbarians always do—destroy people, destroy their habitat, destroy their way of life.

At the Brooklyn Academy of Music, the staff and acting troupe are doing what civilized men and women always try to do. In his first season as BAM's artistic director, David Jones is laying the foundations for a U.S. repertory theater of daring and imaginative scope. — ***T.E. Kalem***

Roxanne Hart, John Seitz and Jon Polito chat cozily on a summer afternoon in *Barbarians*

Tinderbox passion in a Russian village in 1905, where civilization is, at best, a rumor

How Not to Read the Polls

The writer is president of Yankelovich, Skelly & White Inc., the New York–based public opinion research firm that since 1972 has conducted polls on various subjects for this magazine.

In the 1976 presidential election, the catch phrase was "voter apathy." Journalists and politicians cited the public opinion polls to "prove" a mass defection from the electoral process. But while millions of voters stayed away from the voting booths, apathy was not the phenomenon at all. Voters were angry, frustrated and irritated at what they felt was the futility of their participation in elections. Something was in the air, but it was not voter indifference.

This year the catch phrase is "volatile." First the public favors an unannounced Kennedy candidacy 2 to 1 over President Carter's; months later that has changed to Carter 2 to 1 over Kennedy. Then, in New York and Connecticut, Kennedy beats Carter. The President's management of the American hostage situation in Iran was at first a major plus in his approval ratings; then it became a minus. Once again the public opinion polls are cited, and "volatility" is said to be the explanation. But once again the catch phrase is misleading.

Illustration for TIME by Chas. B. Slackman

Certainly there have been wide swings in public opinion in this 1980 presidential campaign. And just as certainly there will be more swings. But *volatile*, according to the dictionary, describes one who is "lighthearted," "fickle" or "capricious" and whose views are "transitory or fleeting." Applied to the current mood of the American public, these terms are laughably inaccurate. One can describe the American electorate in 1980 as troubled or conflict-ridden or agitated about what many regard as the unsatisfactory choices that confront them. But this is hardly a fickle or transitory state of mind. And it certainly is not lighthearted.

In 1944 Sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld demonstrated in his studies of voting behavior that conflict breeds delay in a voter's making up his or her mind. What we are witnessing now in the ups and downs of public opinion poll data is irresolution bred by strong conflict. Its presence means that many voters are going to wait until the last minute to decide. Every electoral race in this campaign, from the primaries to the main bout, is likely to be a cliffhanger, with the opinion polls unable to predict the outcome much in advance of the event.

Ordinarily the public is neither as conflict-ridden nor as relentlessly bombarded with daily polls as we are now. Though the contemporary scene makes for confusion and instability, there is one consolation. The confusion presents a unique opportunity to gain an insight indispensable to all who rely upon poll data. It highlights a missing element in the relationship of opinion polls to the public whose views they register.

The insight comes to light when we address the question "In what respects are the findings of public opinion polls really accurate?" Our numbers-conscious era makes it appear that survey percentages are like most other numbers we rely on for accurate representations of reality. When the morning news reports that the temperature is 90° and the humidity stands at 80%, experience tells us what the numbers mean as we dress for the outdoors. Ninety degrees is 90° F(or 32° C) and while additional interpretations offered by chatty forecasters may prove diverting, we certainly have all the information we need when the numbers are straight. But a disconcerting truth is that a number presented in an opinion poll report is not accurate in the same sense that a number in a weather report is. While survey percentages rarely "lie," no single poll number will by itself give the information that the poll reader needs to know; something vital is missing.

Perhaps the inflation-riddled U.S. economy presents us with a more useful model for understanding what information we require from a public opinion poll. What, after all, is a "constant dollar," and what do we need to know about it? Is it not enough to say that in the past five years the average worker's after-tax income has risen 69% to know that we are staring into the face of unmatched prosperity and good fortune? Obviously it is not, because we also know that between the push of an inflated Consumer Price Index and the pull of deflating dollars, the same average worker has actually suffered a 4% net loss in buying power after his earnings are adjusted for inflation.

Without the adjustment for inflation (*i.e.*, the conversion of income into constant dollars), one would erroneously infer from the 69% increase in earnings that workers had significantly improved their lot, while in reality they have fallen behind. A public opinion poll number can mislead the reader in precisely the same fashion. Technically, a survey finding may be correct (just as the 69% increase in after-tax earnings is technically correct), but it is also radically incomplete in terms of the information it conveys.

What is the missing piece of information, the equivalent of "adjusted for inflation," that we need in order to understand opinion polls? First, it is decidedly not the cautionary words we read about sampling error. In an effort to inform readers, most pollsters and the news media report the range of error that can be attributed to sampling, generally in the range of plus or minus 3% to 5%. Readers consistently misinterpret the meaning of this "warning label"—and understandably so. Most people will take it to mean that if 61% of the public is reported to support a program of national health insurance and the sampling error is said to be 3%, then the boundaries of endorsement of national health insurance are no wider than between a 58% majority and a 64% majority. What is really meant by "sampling error," however, is much narrower. The phrase specifies only the range of probable inaccuracy in the survey caused by projecting the poll figures from a random sample onto the population at large. It says nothing about errors that might be caused by a sloppily worded question or a biased one or a single question that evokes complex feelings. Example: "Are you satisfied with your job?" Most important of all, warning labels about sampling error say nothing about whether or not the public is conflict-ridden or has given a subject much thought. This is the most serious source of opinion poll mis-

interpretation. Knowing a respondent's state of mind when he answers a poll question is as important to poll results as adjustments for inflation are to interpreting today's economy, and can only be determined by questions that go beyond sentiments of approval or disapproval into matters of personal knowledge, commitment and unresolved conflict.

If, for example, a respondent feels that the President is "too soft on Iran," it would be helpful to know what information he has about the actions the President has already taken, how much risk he feels the U.S. should take with the lives of the hostages, how he appraises the potential Soviet threat to Iran, and how he feels about preserving America's honor (including what that means to him).

Consider the Panama Canal Treaties and the debate they stimulated in late 1977. Sensitive politicians all, the Senators turned to public opinion polls for a reading of national sentiment and were confronted with what seemed to be clear public opposition to the treaties. Closer inspection, however, revealed that the almost 2-to-1 margin of disapproval of the treaties came from those who said that they were not familiar with the terms of the accords.

In light of these findings, the President authorized Ambassadors Sol Linowitz and Ellsworth Bunker to head a cast of diplomats and military advisers on an extensive public education campaign. Thanks to surveys that followed these efforts, the Senate realized that many of the original public attitudes toward the treaties had not been settled judgments but rather off-the-cuff reactions to questions about a perceived American foreign policy "loss." Even today, three years later, an ardent core of opposition to the treaties remains. Still, when the Senate finally acted, it had been shown the true dimensions of public opposition, not an exaggerated and misleading picture.

On complex issues like the canal treaties, pollsters and policymakers need to know whether the views of the public are firm and settled or soft and tentative. On such questions people sometimes say what they mean, but often they do not. They almost never lie but frequently they have not made up their minds. Those who say "I don't know" are only a small part of the respondents who are likely to change their minds once they devote more thought to a question or acquire new information or resolve their conflicting emotions.

On almost every key public issue—electing a President, responding to the Soviets in Afghanistan, reacting to anti-inflation initiatives—there is a process, part deliberative and part intuitive, by which people eventually settle their views. Any single opinion poll will catch the American public, as in a snapshot, at a fixed point in the process. But which point is it? Percentages alone do not reveal whether people are at the vague beginning, the turbulent middle or the conclusive end of the process of making up their minds.

Even in the most obvious uses of polling, in pre-election surveys, a 2-to-1 lead in January and a 2-to-1 lead in late October are clearly two different numbers, because in the interim the public has passed through most stages of the making-up-one's-mind process. In examining poll reports, the public needs to ask: "Is this poll focusing on questions to which people have given serious thought, or is it culling top-of-the-head responses—and how do we know which is which?"

In a political campaign it does not much matter if opinion polls fail to report every change in the public's state of mind. We can wait, as we should, for the final poll, conducted at the ballot box. That is the only one that counts, and the truth of public sentiment will be revealed when the tabulations are finished. But on crucial questions of national policy, particularly in foreign affairs, there is no target Election Day by which voters must make up their minds on military policy, national security and crucial alliances. When the public reads the results of the latest surveys, it may think it is getting the full picture of American opinion. But it is only getting half the story, and the missing half may be the critical one.

How do pollsters find out, on specific issues, whether and to what extent people have worked through the process of making up their minds? This is not simple to do, and it is often expensive, but the techniques lie within the current state of the polling art, although the methods must be refined. Increasingly, government leaders study polls, both in the U.S. and in foreign capitals. As polls grow in significance, so does the need for information about the public's state of mind to supplement simple percentages.

The task that lies ahead, in an era ever more sensitive to public opinion, is to put the policymakers in touch not only with the true feelings of the electorate, but with the levels of intensity and conviction that those feelings represent. On the complex questions of national and international importance, the percentage of citizens who approve or disapprove of a particular position do so not only "strongly, partly or not at all"; the response is also tempered by emotion, expectation, circumstance, economics or moral fervor. Those who take the public pulse and those who report the findings are more duty-bound than ever to provide the interpretive framework that shapes the numbers.

— Daniel Yankelovich

Milestones

MARRIED. Mukarram Jah Barkat Ali Khan, 45, eighth Nizam (ruler) of the former Indian principality of Hyderabad and heir to what was one of the world's great fortunes; and **Helen Simmons,** 31, daughter of a retired Australian steel executive and mother of the couple's 15-month-old son Azam; he for the second time, she for the first; in Perth, Australia, where he has a half-million-acre sheep ranch.

MARRIED. Stirling Moss, 50, champion British racing driver; and **Susie Paine,** 27, an advertising executive; he for the third time, she for the first; in London. Moss, who won 194 races, including 14 world championship Grand Prix events, driving for Mercedes-Benz, Maserati and Lotus, retired after a near fatal crash in 1962 that left his vision blurred and slowed his reflexes. He returned to the track last month, this time in a British race for saloon (sedan) cars, but did not finish because his Audi 80 broke down.

MARRIAGE REVEALED. John Paul Stevens, 60, Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, appointed by President Gerald Ford in 1975 to fill the seat long held by the late William O. Douglas; and **Maryan Mulholland Simon,** 48, like the judge a former Chicagoan; both for the second time; at an undisclosed location in Virginia; on Dec. 1, 1979. Stevens, a lawyer who in 1970 was named to the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago, was divorced last year from Elizabeth Sheeren Stevens, his wife of 37 years and mother of his four children.

DIED. Charlotte Henry, 67, flaxen-haired Hollywood heroine, who starred in such prewar entertainments as *Babes in Toyland, Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* and, most notably, the 1933 *Alice in Wonderland,* in which she played Alice to Cary Grant's Mock Turtle, Gary Cooper's White Knight and W.C. Fields' Humpty Dumpty; of a brain tumor; in San Diego.

DIED. Jean-Paul Sartre, 74, French existentialist philosopher and man of leftist letters; of heart disease; in Paris (*see* WORLD).

DIED. Levi Jitzhak Grunwald, 86, the Tzehlemer Rebbe, leader of a minor sect of Hasidim in Brooklyn, who touched the lives of all observant American Jews by requiring enforcement of the most rigorous standards for the preparation of kosher food; in New York City. Born in what is now the Soviet Ukraine, Grunwald was grand rabbi of Tzehlem, a town in northern Austria, when in 1938 he led his congregation to the U.S. to escape Nazi persecution; later he aided the postwar resettlement of many Hasidic Jews, whose men wear broad-brimmed black hats, grow their sideburns into long curls and never shave, heeding the biblical injunction: "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard."

Some
major expenses
the Chens
had to live with.
But they
made sure major
medical expense
wasn't one
of them.

The Chens are among 142,000,000 Americans protected from major medical expense.

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Cinema

David Bennent, 12, and midgets entertain German troops in *The Tin Drum*

Dream Work

THE TIN DRUM
Directed by Volker Schlöndorff
Screenplay by Jean-Claude Carrière, Volker Schlöndorff, Franz Seitz, Günter Grass

A woman is sitting by a fire in a bare field, roasting potatoes. In the distance two policemen are seen chasing a man who eludes them and asks the woman for help. She hides him under her voluminous skirts. While the police question her, the criminal impregnates her.

Children are playing. They are cooking soup. In the boiling pot, along with other disgusting items, they place two live frogs. They also urinate into it. Then they force another child to eat this concoction.

The decomposing head of a horse is pulled from the sea. Out of it tumbles a mass of eels. Later, the eeler, whose wife has been sickened by this spectacle, tries to force her to eat his catch. She retreats to the bedroom, where she is consoled sexually by her lover, who is also her husband's closest friend.

When Soviet armies enter Germany near the end of World War II, their troops find a group of civilians hiding in a basement. While the soldiers rape one of the women, a German swallows his Nazi Party emblem and dies grotesquely when its pin catches in his throat.

These are among the images one retains—probably for a very long time—from *The Tin Drum*. There are dozens of others, equally horrific, equally memorable. All are part of the life and times of little Oskar Matzerath, who, at the age of three, decides to grow no older physically, because he does not wish to participate in the obscenity of adult middle-class existence. Instead, armed with his little tin drum, which he beats to drown out the sounds of nonsense, and with a glass-shattering scream that is his ultimate weapon of protest, Oskar chooses to bear witness to the folly and evil deeds of adults.

Oskar is played with remarkable acuity by a twelve-year-old, David Bennent. It is significant that he opts for perpetual childhood *before* the Nazis come to power and take over Danzig, where most of this adaptation of Günter Grass's monumental novel takes place. To Oskar, Nazism is but the logical extension of the world he has already rejected.

This film could have been merely a restatement of the familiar view that Nazism's rise can be traced to the poisoned soul of the German bourgoisie immediately after World War I. But that reckons without the artful response Director Schlöndorff has made to Grass's epochal novel. He has resisted the temptation to make another showy display of the allegedly guilty German conscience. Behind Oskar, who is a boldly conceived and richly ambiguous symbolic figure, he has placed a marvelous cast. They are sharply realized, entirely realistic figures who exist in a palpable, well-specified environment. From the interplay of literary conceit and hard-edged, artfully compressed observations of a very real world, he has created a film that has the dislocating immediacy of a nightmare that anyone anywhere might conjure up. It is a bleak and unsparing vision. What lift there is to be derived from *The Tin Drum* is all aesthetic. Unlike most art that sets out to examine a so-called big subject, this is a quick-minded, even occasionally witty film that is, despite its size, paradoxically light on its feet. It deserves the Oscar it won last week as the year's best foreign film. — ***Richard Schickel***

Way Station

EBOLI
Directed by Francesco Rosi
Screenplay by Francesco Rosi, Tonino Guerra, Raffaele La Capria

Exiled from Rome in 1935 by Mussolini's Fascists, Carlo Levi, poet, painter, doctor and political dissident, was sent to a mountain village in Lucania in southern Italy. The book he wrote about this experience, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, has become a small modern classic. If the film, which has been carved out of a much longer mini-series originally made for Italian television, does not have quite the stature of the book, it is nonetheless sober, virtuous and quietly absorbing.

The book took its title from the last train stop before Lucania, and the last outpost of the civilization that had nurtured Levi. The implication of the title is that despite the primitive religiosity of the culture that lay beyond Eboli, even the Saviour would have stopped before entering a realm "hedged in by custom and sorrow . . . without comfort or solace." What Levi—played with patient sympathy and intelligence by Gian Maria Volonte—finds in Lucania is a drunken priest who is sometimes stoned by the village children, a bombastic mayor with the habit of summoning everyone to the town square to hear his empty Fascist orations, doctors whose medical skills are scarcely more advanced than the folk medicine the townspeople practice. The hints of a modern world that manage to penetrate this fastness are so sketchy that they are bound to be distorted; Levi sees how totally irrelevant the grand schemes of the modern state—and not only a totalitarian one—are to the real needs of these people.

No claim is made that Levi, in a relatively short stay, changed the lives of these people. More likely, they changed his, granting him a more humane and compassionate understanding of the richness of real life. That life goes on, time without end, below and beyond the political illusions that bemuse people with the education and leisure to indulge them. At the abstract level, Levi (and his book's cinematic interpreters) seems to be saying that the simpler the life people lead, the more resistant it is to the forces of change, even when those forces are backed by coercive power. Forty-five years deeper into the 20th century, it would have been easy to romanticize the simple, patient people exemplifying that point. Rosi does not do it. He draws them with full dimensionality, verve and gentle irony. And with a sympathy that never veers into noble-peasant sentimentality. In this cut, Levi's story seems to rush rather suddenly to a conclusion, but even so it is well worth attending. — ***R.S.***

40 Rms, No Vu

THE CHANGELING
Directed by Peter Medak
Screenplay by William Gray and Diana Maddox

For reasons known only to the sort of people who concoct movies like this one, a middle-aged man (George C. Scott), shattered by the sudden loss of wife and child in an accident, decides that the very place to reconstruct his life is an ancient and gloomy mansion. Of course, the minute he starts to rattle around in this real estate agent's nightmare, it starts rattling back at him—also creaking and thumping. Obviously, it is trying to tell him something—and not just that there is a little ranch house, a steal at the price, available down the road. Does our hero quickly throw a change of socks and underwear into a bag and take off for the nearest Holiday Inn to think things out? Not a bit of it. He is always grabbing a flashlight and poking around in the upstairs closets —usually in the wee hours of windy nights

Ultimately his investigatory obsession leads him to the discovery that a child was murdered in the mansion long ago. In due course, the spirit of the dead child is set to rest, the old house comes tumbling down, and Scott can presumably settle down with the rather prissy lady (Trish Van Devere) who talked him into the leasehold in the first place

There are a couple of amusing scares, mostly of the "don't open that door" variety, but Director Medak devotes an unconscionable amount of time to vistas of long, dull corridors and high-angle shots, which prove nothing except that they just don't build 12-ft.-high ceilings any more Too bad they don't revive that lost art and give up on this antique kind of moviemaking — *Richard Schickel*

George C. Scott in *The Changeling*
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Education

Leaders for the 21st Century?

A gentleman of Japan builds a school with a sublime object

Amid the studiously reserved company men who usually head Japan's big corporations, Konosuke Matsushita, 85, has long been an outspoken exception. The son of a poor rice dealer, he founded the Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. as a three-person shop in 1918, built it into one of the world's largest producers of consumer electronic goods, and used his prestige to expound opinions on everything from nuclear power (he favors it) to the businessman's role as the servant of society. In 1973 he retired, but only to become more active in other fields. His earnest, upbeat magazine *PHP*—Peace and Happiness through Prosperity—is Japan's largest-selling monthly. He is the most sought-after lecturer in Japan. This month the octogenarian opened the Matsushita School of Government and Management in the seaside city of Chigasaki, 30 miles southwest of Tokyo. Its unabashed purpose: to train the leaders Japan needs for the 21st century.

MASACHIKA SUHARA

Founder Konosuke Matsushita

"We looked for those exuding ambition."

Matsushita has preached for years that the 21st century belongs to Japan, but has been afraid that his country was not developing enough leaders to succeed the U.S. as the "center of human prosperity." The new school, into which Matsushita has already put $28 million of his "spending money," attacks the problem head on. Students are given free tuition, room and full board and a $600-a-month stipend. "I was determined to open this school even if there was but one applicant," said Matsushita in the inaugural address. There were, in fact, 907 applicants, but just 24 passed the grueling written and oral entrance exam. Says new Principal Yasushi Hisakado: "We looked for those exuding ambition."

The scholars, all college graduates, will study under a total of 44 visiting lecturers, including Economist John Kenneth Galbraith (the only foreigner scheduled), Science Fiction Writer Sakyo Komatsu, Tea Ceremonies Master Soshitsu Sen and Matsushita's electronics competitor Masaru Ibuka, founder of the Sony Corp. After three years of this lecture blizzard, students will be dispatched "to grasp some of the realities of life" in offices and factories and will be sent for six months to a foreign country of their own choosing.

The curriculum emphasizes foreign languages and physical conditioning, including swordsmanship. But "nearly everything that could be taught at a regular college is out," says Hisakado. The dominant lecture themes attempt to define the essential qualities of human beings and the disciplines that help a society endure. Most students in the entering class share one sentiment. Kenji Yoshida, 24, a graduate of Osaka University Law School, observes that many question "the existing Japanese value system, and entered this school in search of an answer."

Eventually, most want to go into politics, but Masato Degawa, 24, who studied at Oxford's Worcester College, wants to work in international cultural exchange. Matsushita makes no demands of his graduates. "They can do what they please, in whatever field they might choose," he told TIME Correspondent S. Chang. "All I want to see is good leadership material come out of our school."

Tokyo Social Psychologist Kazuo Shimada is not convinced that Matsushita's elaborate plans will work. Says he: "If leadership could be inculcated at school, the world would be without any problem. You are born with it or not—and so few are born with it." Banker Shozo Hotta, chairman of Japan Air Lines, disagrees: "This is exactly the kind of school Japan needs." Certainly Matsushita intends his students to break out of any mold—a distinct departure in Japanese education. He wants his scholars to study "everything under the sun." In his opening address, Matsushita tossed them a typical challenge: "You must pose questions yourselves and work out answers yourselves." As an example, he declared: "I think it is altogether possible to create a taxless country. Think about it." ■

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How we're improving one of the best health and safety records in U.S. industry

According to National Safety Council figures, chemical workers are 2.3 times safer than the average employee in American industry. In fact, they are far safer on the job than off. But we're still not satisfied. Here are some of the steps we're taking to make the working environment healthier and safer:

1. Improving detection techniques

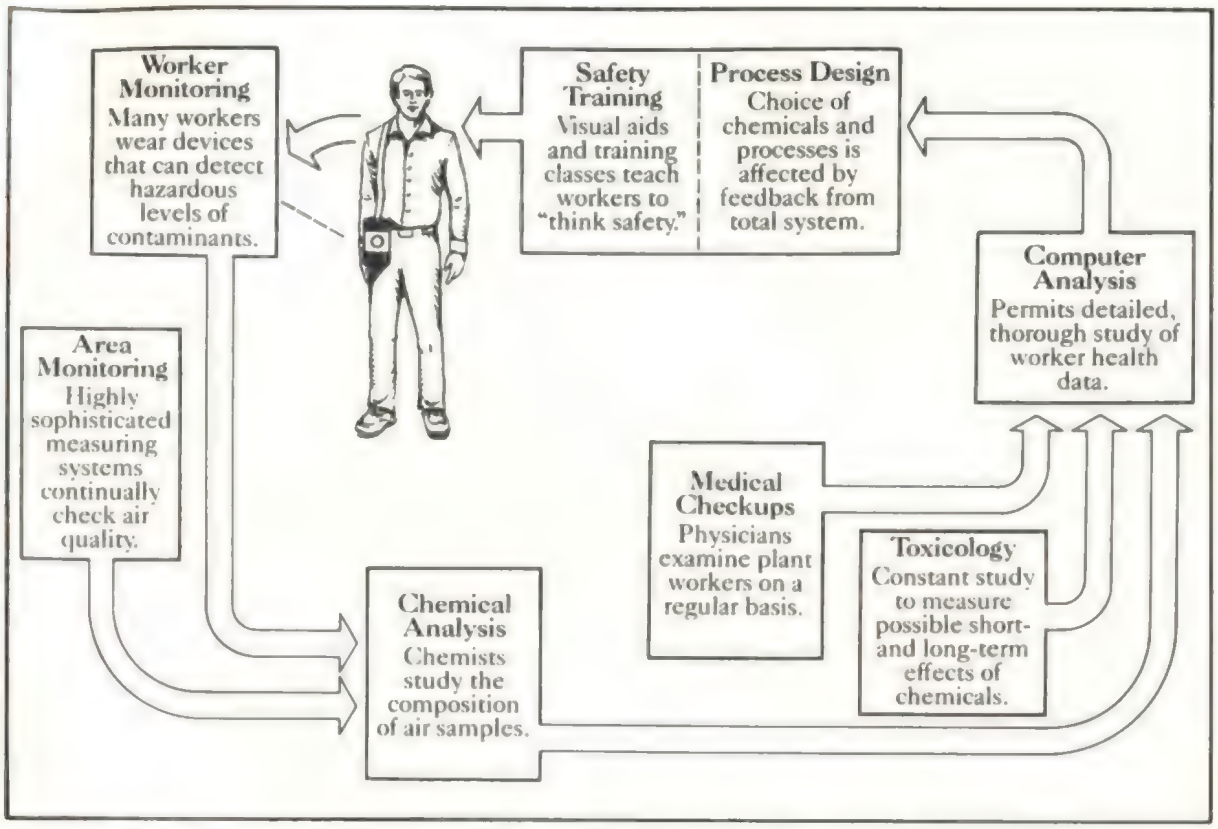
New and more sophisticated devices for monitoring the environment are worn by many workers. Many plants have "area monitoring devices" spotted in strategic locations. Some of these devices change color or sound an alarm to alert workers to even minute traces of contaminants. Others, like the gas chromatograph-mass spectrometer, measure contaminant quantities as low as one part per trillion—equivalent to one second in 32,000 years. Data from these and other measuring devices are analyzed by computer and compared with employee health records to help make sure that exposure is kept at safe levels. (See illustration.)

2. Upgrading educational programs

Chemical companies are intensifying their safety education programs, especially with videotapes and other visual aid techniques. One company has an 82-page listing of videotape cassettes. It also has an index of safety standards that runs to about 60 pages. And each standard can run as long as 50 pages. The effect of this training goes beyond the plant. Chemical workers learn to "think safety." So they have fewer accidents than the average industrial employee —not only at work, but also on their own time.

3. Expanding laboratory studies

Throughout the chemical industry, thousands of people are working on new and faster ways to determine the long-term effects of chemicals. It is not an easy job. Doing a study on just one chemical can take over three years and cost more than $1,000,000. To advance this work, 30 chemical com-



Worker Safety Protection System: Data from health exams, monitoring devices and laboratory studies are continually analyzed to identify situations that may require immediate action and to provide information for possible improvements in process design and safety training.

panies have joined to create the Chemical Industry Institute of Toxicology located near Raleigh, North Carolina. The Institute shares its findings with the entire industry, the U.S. Government and the public.

4.
"Engineering out" risks

When tests cast suspicion on the safety of a substance, we often find substitutes. Example: At many plants, toxic materials have been replaced by safer chemicals. In other cases, we may redesign the entire manufacturing process to make it safer.

5.
Closer monitoring of employee health

The number of industrial hygienists has tripled in the past 10 years. And they are only part of the picture. Chemical companies now use *interdisciplinary* teams to monitor employee health. A typical team consists of industrial hygienists, physicians, toxicologists and engineers. These teams then multiply their effectiveness by using the latest computer technology to process and study the data they collect. The results help chemical companies anticipate and control threats to worker health and safety better than ever before.

For more information, write: Chemical Manufacturers Association, Dept. BT-41, 1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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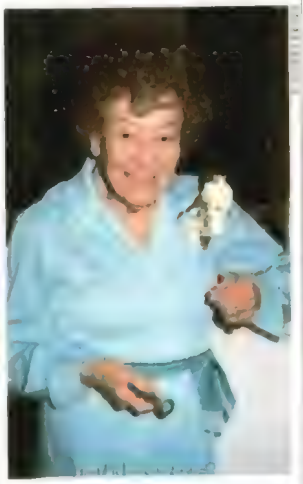
People

It's 50 years since **Harriet Stratemeyer Adams** and **Nancy Drew** first met. To celebrate the anniversary, and the 58th adventure of the adroit adolescent detective, *The Flying Saucer Mystery*, her publishers tossed a mystery-theme party for Adams, who writes the Drew dramas as **Carolyn Keene.** At 87, the author is spry, but less timeless than her protégée. In half a century, Nancy has aged only two years, to 18, and done little more than change hair styles and add slacks and shorts to her swing-era sweater sets and pleated skirts. Despite a 50-year romance, Boyfriend **Ned Nickerson** is still allowed no more than a chaste kiss. That's because of another relationship equally uncharacteristic of modern times, alas. "I call her my fictional daughter," says Mrs. Adams. "And my fictional daughter always does and says what I tell her to."

■

Coatless, tieless and triumphantly clutching his Best Actor Oscar, **Dustin Hoffman** could not resist a post-award press conference zinger at TV gossip **Rona Barrett,** who had dismissed Best Movie *Kramer vs. Kramer* as so much soap suds. Said he, spotting Barrett in the press crush: "Well, the soap opera won." *Kramer* swept five major prizes in the 52nd Academy Awards show. "I'm trying to hear the question over my heartbeat," cooed **Meryl Streep,** Best Supporting Actress as Ms. Kramer. Complimented on her Trigère gown, Streep, who is Mrs. Don Gummer in real life, blushingly swept a hand across her stomach and sighed: "It doesn't fit like it should since the baby." **Sally Field** was flushed with



Adams lights up her party

more than her victory as Best Actress for *Norma Rae*. Field, who had scarcely eaten for three days because of pre-Oscar nerves, sagged into bed next day with flu and a 102° fever. So many bouquets multiplied in her sickroom that she reported weakly: "It looks like a florist shop. Or a morgue."

The cast isn't mammoth, but the costumes are—prehistoric animal skins. The dialogue consists of 14 words. That's *Caveman*, shooting in Mexico and starring **Ringo Starr.** The film is a campy comedy about cavemen who between club fights make such momentous discoveries as fried eggs, cooked meat and gay sex. Lack of lines doesn't bother Ringo, who has made plenty of wordy but forgettable flicks since the Beatles broke up. "It's far more creative to be able to transmit all these feelings without words," says he, adjusting skins far different from those he pounded as a Beatlemaniacal drummer boy.

■

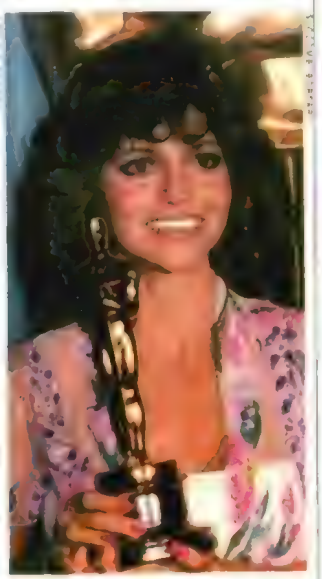
As Britain's longtime touchstone of taste and guru of grace, he prided himself on the *beau geste*. So it was not surprising when the will of **Sir Cecil Beaton,** who died in January at 76, was read that a special friend had been singularly remembered. After monetary bequests and disposition of paintings, photographs and papers accumulated in a lifetime of photography, writing and theater, Beaton made another gift. To Actress **Greta Garbo,** now 74, who in the 1940s rebuffed Bachelor Beaton's tender of love and marriage, went a remembrance: an exquisite oil of one red rose, by an unknown 19th century Italian.

Different drummer: Ringo in film

On the Record

Dimitrios Nianias, Greek Minister of Culture, lamenting the removal of 2,400-year-old figures from Athens' Acropolis: "They saw Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, conquering Romans, the Byzantine era, so many wars. They survived all other catastrophes to be defeated by modern pollution."

Severiano Ballesteros, 23, Spanish golfer, on America after his Masters win: "Steak and potatoes good over here. And cornflakes in the morning."



Streep has a beating heart and Hoffman a smug smile while meeting the press with Oscars in hand, as Field flushes from flu and victory

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Plumbing the Shallows

THY NEIGHBOR'S WIFE *by Gay Talese; Doubleday; 568 pages; $14.95*

With bestsellers on the New York *Times* (*The Kingdom and the Power*) and the Mafia (*Honor Thy Father*) to his credit, Author Gay Talese felt ready to tackle a really big subject for his next book. In 1971 he noticed a massage parlor near one of his favorite bars on Manhattan's East Side. Instead of saying "There goes the neighborhood," he decided that something was up, perhaps nothing less than "the redefinition of morality in America." An indefatigable reporter, Talese plunged into the world of commercial sex, not just patronizing massage parlors but also managing two of them. He saw "numerous" X-rated films, did research at topless bars, crisscrossed the country in search of nude encounter groups. His work attracted snickering publicity, strained his marriage and caused him to miss his deadline by five years.

Author Talese acts as manager of a New York massage parlor, 1972

Painting men as victims of church, state, censors and women.

At long last Talese has got his story into print, and it certainly answers thousands of questions. How, for instance, did Nude Model Diane Webber's great-great-grandmother die? (An Indian shot her in the back.) Did General Custer carry life insurance into the battle of Little Big Horn? (Yes, a $5,000 policy with New York Life.) What covered the circular bed in Hugh Hefner's private DC-9? (A coverlet made of Tasmanian opossum fur.)

No book that somberly enshrines such trivia can be all bad; fun is fun, whether intended or not. But well over 500 pages of details should probably, finally, add up to something more than polymorphism, and *Thy Neighbor's Wife* does not. Talese's subject is not "sex in America," as he claims, but rather a narrow band of U.S. citizens: married middle-class males now in middle age who want more sex with more women than society and, usually, their wives condone. Talese identifies with all the neatly dressed clients of massage parlors; "He *was* them," the author writes of himself, "in many ways." Fair enough. Men afflicted to the point of distraction with adolescent fantasies have their rights as well as their problems, along with everyone else. But Talese does not let it go at that. He paints his male characters as victims, healthy ids thwarted by church, state, censors and, most devastatingly, uncooperative women.

This largely buried argument is all that connects the book's welter of anecdotes. A Chicago teen-ager named Harold Rubin is limned practicing self-abuse over photographs of nude women. He is joined in the narrative by the newly married Hugh Hefner, who wanders the streets and gazes at apartment windows where women might appear. Hefner makes room later for John Bullaro, a married Los Angeles insurance executive who bicycles to Venice Beach on Sundays to ogle sunbathers.

About all these men have in common is the fact that they talked, at enormous length, to Gay Talese. He responds by decreeing them typical and elevating their itches into a national problem. What must be done to provide sauce for these ganders? Hefner has built a sybaritic, self-enclosed world, described by Talese with popeyed wonder. The author found another answer in the "permissive paradise" of Sandstone, a 15-acre retreat near Los Angeles that flourished in the '70s on a diet of communal nudity and sex. The Sandstone philosophy was not, Talese insists, a clever license for men but a liberation for both sexes: "A sexually adventurous woman could experience, if her mind were willing, her body's capacity to exhaust in a single evening the best efforts of a succession of lusty Lotharios."

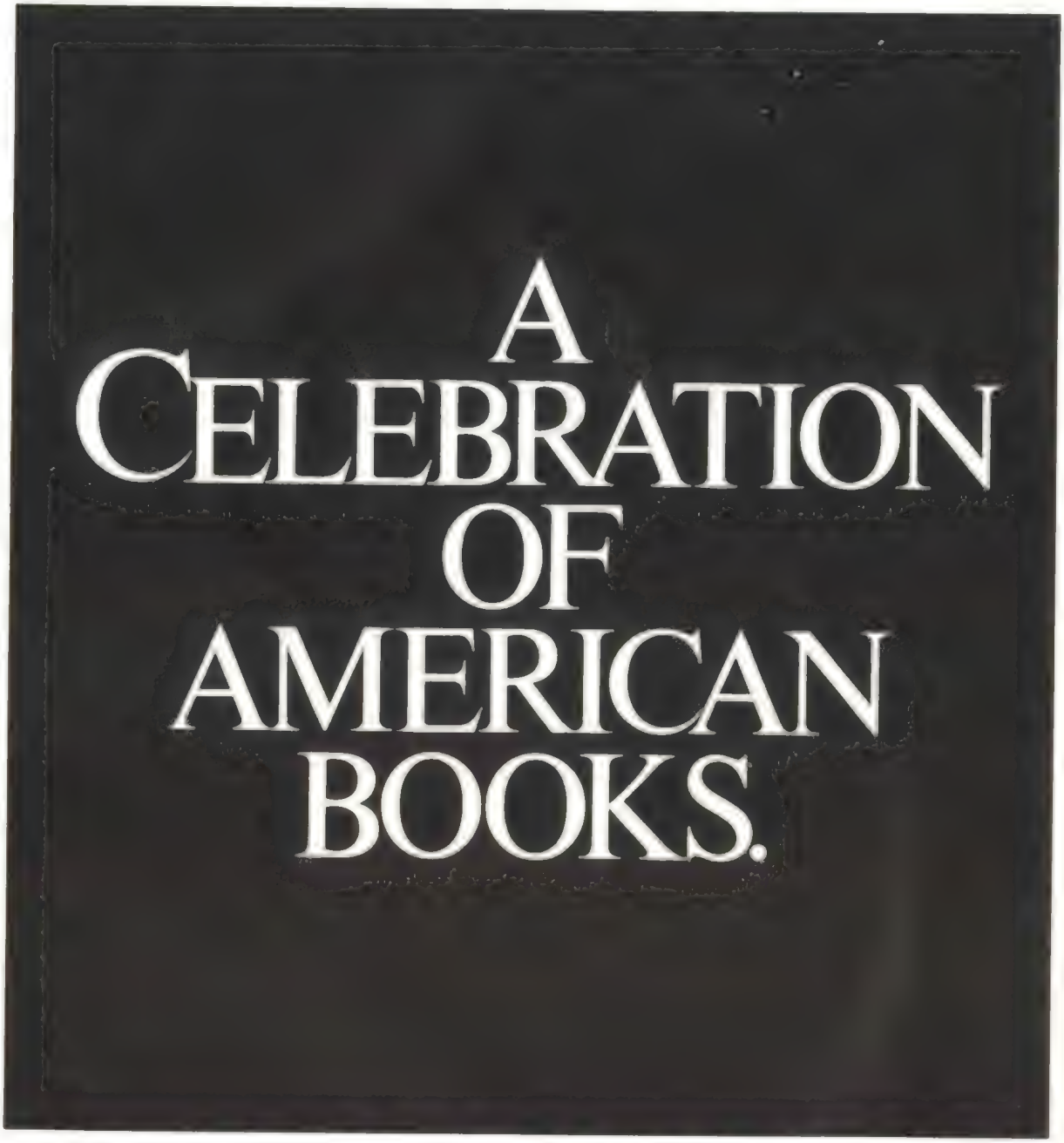
Do women want this? Talese spoke to several who think so, but he spends little time on the question. He is more interested, throughout the book, in how women look: "Voluptuous ... curvesome ... shapely ... buxom ... comely ... pretty ... piquant ... zaftig ..." *Thy Neighbor's Wife* is an orgy of adjectives, and both sexes get their share. A peak of sorts is reached when Talese describes the members of the Supreme Court: "Broad-chested, sixty-six-year-old mustachioed Thurgood Marshall ... tidy, horn-rimmed, thin-lipped Harry Blackmun." Much of the book reads as if it has been badly translated: "Some inventive interpretation of the malleable wording of the flexible definition of the crime of obscenity."

Finally, Talese fails to draw the conclusions his evidence provides. He shows how Hefner's freedom to disport has pained his partners. He admits that Sandstone was hard on some who went there. What he does not say is the obvious: given power over others, hedonists can be as tyrannical as censors. The injunction to perform can be as chafing as the commandment to abstain. Talese thinks that the war between men and women could be called off if women would learn to like "recreational sex." He does not add that this fantasy of surrender is a boring substitute for the complex, painful and joyous reality. — *Paul Gray*

Excerpt

"A lean, dark-eyed man of forty-three whose brown hair was beginning to turn gray, Talese was not entirely a stranger to the people in the room. He had visited Sandstone often in the past ... and his book-in-progress had already received inordinate amounts of publicity ... Most of what had been written about Talese in the press, however, had been jocularly presented, strongly suggesting that his reportorial technique as a 'participating observer' in the world of erotica—his patronage of massage parlors, his dark afternoons in X-rated cinemas, his intimate familiarity with swing clubs and orgiasts across the land—was an ingenious ploy on his part to indulge his carnality and to be unfaithful ...

While Talese had never openly refuted this notion, assuming that any attempt to deny it might mark him as a man on the defensive ... he was nonetheless keenly aware that his allegedly ideal assignment was frequently less pleasurable than other people generally believed."



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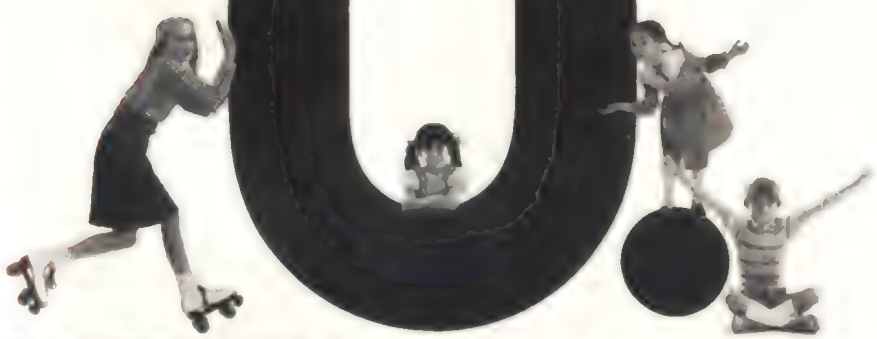

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Southern Illinois University
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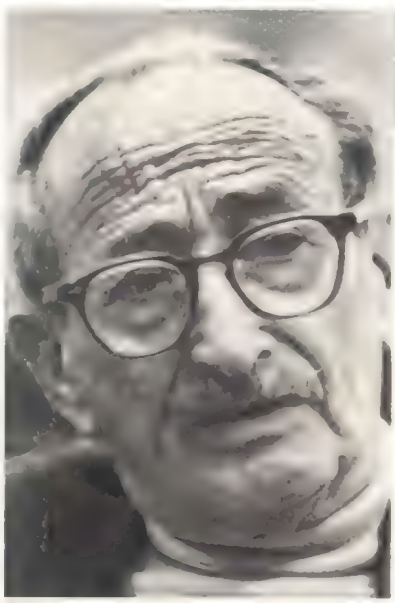
In his seminars at New York University, Professor Sidney Hook often asked students to define Bertrand Russell's beliefs. But no one could trap the gadfly who advocated the nuclear destruction of the U.S.S.R., the condemnation of U.S. imperialism, the adoption of idealism, rationalism or realism. Concluded the professor: "Next time anyone asks you, 'What is Bertrand Russell's philosophy?,' the correct answer is, 'What year, please?' "

When future seminars address themselves to Sidney Hook's work, the correct response will require only one word change: Any year, please. As these 21 feisty essays demonstrate, over the past four decades the teacher-philosopher has seen no reason to alter his course. He did not need Alexander Solzhenitsyn to inform him of the Gulag; back in the '30s Hook condemned the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, nations whose politics employed "vicious ersatz theologies." The Supreme Court's pendulum decisions on criminal justice have found Hook unchanged; he has long advocated the rights of the victim: "When we read that a man whose speeding car had been stopped by a motorcycle policeman, who without a search warrant forced him to open his trunk that contained . . . corpses . . . walks out of court scot-free because the evidence is ruled inadmissible—we can only conclude that the law is an ass."

Save for an early immersion in Marxism, Hook, 77, has found his place outside of movements or situation ethics. For this perversity he has been attacked by Communists, religious dogmatists, reactionaries and the '60s New Left, who charged conspiracy when Richard Nixon ordered reprints of a Hook article decrying campus violence. "You cannot bar other people from agreeing with you," concluded the author, and went on attacking blighted authority wherever he found it—including the White House.

In fact, hypocrisy and its concomitant, special pleading, have always been Hook's true bêtes noires: "The impassioned groups that shout in our courtrooms today 'All power to the people' are unaware that they are calling for mob rule of which many of their forebears were victims." Of reverse discrimination, Hook demands: "Would it be reasonable to contend that women should have been compensated for past discrimination against their maternal forebears by being given an extra vote or two . . . ?" Nor is he indulgent to political philosophers—"those of us who are concerned with current issues . . . we need only refer to Santayana's apologias for Mussolini and Stalin, Heidegger's support of Hitler, Sartre's refusal to condemn the concentration-camp economy of the Soviet Union."

These exemplars have not caused the author to mute his own polemic. He was, after all, a student and friend of Philosopher John Dewey, and the disciple adheres to the master's dictum: human freedoms can be extended only by the arts of intelligence. In *Philosophy and Public Policy*, that intelligence oscillates between civility and perversity. "The Hero in History" summarizes his brilliant division of the "event-making" men who redirect history (Lenin, Peter the Great) and "eventful" men (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman) who are overtaken by circumstance. Yet his call for a corrective


MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Sidney Hook
You cannot bar people from agreeing.

to the country's present antiheroic mood is simply an "intelligent political participation on the part of citizens"—a phrase indistinguishable from November editorials in small-town newspapers. His attack on Lillian Hellman, whom he calls "The Scoundrel in the Looking Glass," exhumes old records to catch the autobiographer in a variety of duplicities and concealments. Hook concludes that "the manner in which [she] refers to . . . anti-Communist liberals shows that what she cannot forgive them for is not so much their alleged failure to criticize [Joseph] McCarthy but . . . their criticism of the crimes of Stalin and his successors during the forty years in which she apologized for them." When Novelist Mary McCarthy made equally hostile remarks about Hellman on the *Dick Cavett Show*, a lawsuit followed. Hellman is unlikely to take Hook to court; his evidence is clear, weighty and damning. But even here, he insists on a scorched-earth policy. The fumbling, revisionist introduction to Hellman's *Scoundrel Time*, by Garry Wills, "has unconsciously reconstructed the Kremlin's propaganda line. The only omission is the failure to charge the U.S. with the guilt of conducting germ warfare in North Korea." Disingenuousness requires analysis, not overkill.

Still, Hook is at his keenest at war with ideas or with historians. Arnold Toynbee's pious but inexact theories, T.S. Eliot's elitist culture of the future, Alger Hiss's claim of innocence—these are the stuff of enduring debate, and even when his case is exaggerated, Hook never fails to stimulate or enlighten. He is less successful when he praises. John Dewey's writings are described in dust-jacket prose: "chock-full of fruitful insights" and at times he can sound like Kahlil Gibran: "Democracy is like love in this: It cannot be brought to life in others by command." It is fortunate for author and reader that benignity is a minor component of this collection. The central theses of *Philosophy and Public Policy* prove that throughout a career of combat, Sidney Hook's hackles and gorge have always risen to the occasion. Those who shrink from confrontation should stay clear of such reactive power. Only thinkers need apply. For them, as Alfred North Whitehead observed, "a clash of doctrines is not a disaster. It is an opportunity." — ***Stefan Kanfer***

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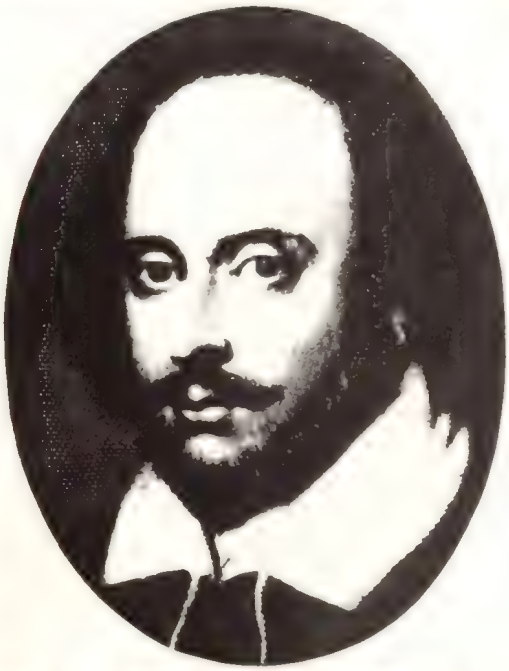

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Gannett Goes for the Gold

The nation's biggest chain combines profits with a Pulitzer

To mark his birthday last year, friends roasted Allen Harold Neuharth, 56, with a bogus interview printed under the logo of the Cocoa (Fla.) *Today*, a newspaper he helped launch in 1966. "We're pushing for a Pulitzer this year," the fictive Neuharth remarks at one point. In what category? "Profit. Er, make that 'progress.'"

Er, make that "public service." Last week the Gannett News Service, which provides national reporting for the 82 Gannett-owned dailies, won the prestigious Pulitzer Gold Medal for its investigation of financial improprieties committed by the Pauline Fathers, a small order of monks in eastern Pennsylvania. The award was sweet vindication for Al Neuharth, Gannett's chairman and president. Best known for making the chain the largest and most consistently profitable in the U.S., Neuharth has lately been on a tireless campaign to make it one of the most respected as well. "The Gold Medal," he says, "is gratifying recognition of the pretty professional work that Gannett News Service has been doing for quite a while."

In the 74 years since the late Frank E. Gannett purchased the Elmira (N.Y.) *Star-Gazette*, the chain has steered clear of big-city competition. Instead, Gannett has concentrated on small- and medium-sized towns with only one daily. The stereotypical Gannett paper has a circulation of 40,000, profit margins that dazzle Wall Street and a reputation for editorial lassitude. Defending his preference for local monopolies, Neuharth once said: "I don't dislike fighting. I just like winning."

Gannett is beginning to outgrow its reputation for thinking small. It became a true press giant last summer when it merged with Combined Communications Corp., a Phoenix-based firm that owned the Cincinnati *Enquirer* (current circ. 190,000) and Oakland (Calif.) *Tribune* (current circ. 165,000), seven television stations, twelve radio stations and extensive outdoor-advertising interests. Among chains, Gannett is the longtime leader in number of papers, and last year passed the 55-paper Knight-Ridder chain in weekday circulation. Gannett's total is now 3,580,000 (*vs.* Knight-Ridder's 3,492,000), more than double that of a decade ago.

Prize Reporters John Hanchette, William Schmick and Carlton Sherwood

"The attitude at present seems to be 'spend now and ask questions later.'"

Neuharth is perhaps the highest-paid newspaper executive in the country ($1,160,000 in salary, benefits and stock options last year) and is currently finishing his second one-year term as president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. He has used his ANPA position to exhort fellow journalists to defend the beleaguered First Amendment and to hire more women and minorities. These are heartfelt concerns, but Neuharth's passionate pursuit of them is constantly put to use in his crusade to recast Gannett's image. The company trumpets its commitment to journalistic freedom and excellence in expensive and seemingly ubiquitous corporate advertisements, and a skillful p.r. staff lets no Gannett achievement go unheralded. The chain has even adopted a new motto: "A World of Different Newspapers" has become "A World of Different Voices Where Freedom Speaks."

More than cosmetics is involved though. Says a reporter for the Gannett News Service of his employer: "I really get the feeling that they're trying to take their wealth and put it back into quality." Nowhere is this more evident than in Washington, where the G.N.S. bureau's budget has been raised from $250,000 in 1967 to $3.3 million today. Once content merely to keep Gannett papers posted on the good deeds of their local Congressmen, the Washington editorial staff now numbers 33, covers national and international news in some depth and undertakes a variety of investigative projects. "The attitude at present seems to be 'spend now and ask questions later,'" one bureau member says.

Gannett's Pulitzer-winning investigation required a commitment of time and resources that would have been unthinkable only a few years ago. Three reporters, William F. Schmick, 38, John M. Hanchette, 37, and Carlton Sherwood, 32, were detached from regular duties for nine months to find out what had happened to money raised by the Pauline Fathers for a national shrine. The reporters traveled to 17 states and four foreign countries and ran up nearly $100,000 in expenses. They finally loosed an 18-part, 40,000-word series alleging that the order squandered a substantial portion of $20 million in charitable donations, loans, investments and bond proceeds. The series had the temerity to suggest that officials of the Roman Catholic Church, including Pope John Paul II, had engaged

in a cover-up—a charge that brought angry denunciations from Catholic pulpits and, in a few cities, calls for anti-Gannett boycotts.

The prestige of winning the Gold Medal (the chain or its papers have received four previous Pulitzers, the last in 1971) should help Gannett fend off critics of chain ownership. More than 63% of the nation's 1,769 dailies are now owned by groups, double the percentage in 1960, and independent papers are being gobbled up at a rate of 50 or 60 a year. What bothers critics most is a reduction in the diverse, often lively voices of independent newspapers. There are complaints, too, that chains tend to be obsessed with profits and indifferent to editorial excellence. Says Congressman Morris Udall, an Arizona Democrat who is an outspoken opponent of chains: "I think you are losing something pretty precious when you have a large organization that is more interested in the bottom line than what's good for the community."

Allen Neuharth in his Rochester office with a map showing the location of the firm's papers

"When Al wears a sharkskin suit, it's hard to tell where the shark stops and he begins."

Newspaper groups have an energetic defender in Neuharth, a wiry (5 ft. 7 in., 150 lbs.) imp with an athletic walk, a lopsided grin and a supremely self-confident air. Born and raised in South Dakota, he made a name for himself at the Miami *Herald*, a Knight (now Knight-Ridder) paper, where he rose from reporter to assistant managing editor in four years, and later at Knight's Detroit *Free Press*. Neuharth joined Gannett in 1963 and was president by 1970, leading some colleagues to snipe that his rise came a little too fast. "When Al wears a sharkskin suit," a friend once observed, "it's hard to tell where the shark stops and he begins."

Part of this uneasiness doubtless stems from Neuharth's style. His sense of humor is barbed, sometimes tactless, and he is a notorious practical joker. His first wife, Loretta, was once arrested after he deviliishly reported their car stolen. At a party a few years ago, he persuaded all 19 men present to give him their ties and then left; he never did return the ties. Neuharth dresses expensively, and always in black, white and gray. He jogs at dawn—in a black-and-white track suit. Associates call him the Black Prince. Says Ron Martin, editor of the Hearst chain's Baltimore *News-American* and a former colleague: "He just goes for clothes that shine and glow in the dark. But it's also a statement of a kind. It's him saying, 'This is me, and I dare you to do anything about it.' "

Like Neuharth, Gannett papers are invariably well packaged, smartly designed and slickly promoted. In overall quality they run several furlongs behind Knight-Ridder but ahead of just about every other large chain. Neuharth argues that Gannett has never acquired a paper it did not improve. This is testimony partly to the sorry quality of medium-sized papers in the U.S. But it is also true that Gannett has expunged the rabid right-wing excesses from a few of its papers—notably those in Springfield, Mo., and Nashville—and dramatically upgraded other properties, like the Camden (N.J.) *Courier-Post*. As even Morris Udall admits, "If you're going to have chain newspapers, you're not going to do much better than the kind of aggressive, community-minded, broad-based operation that Gannett has."

Beyond such generalized praise and the vague objections of chain haters, it is difficult to characterize Gannett journalism. The firm's home office in Rochester approves budgets, buys certain syndicated features and offers design and editorial assistance. Otherwise, Gannett editors are allowed wide latitude. Most would probably agree with Tom Callinan, managing editor of the Little Falls (Minn.) *Daily Transcript* (circ. 3,800), when he says: "I stay within my budget, put out a good product and they don't bother me."

Critics find many Gannett papers parochial and uninspired, as wholesome as enriched bread but often just as bland. Even many Gannett hands are frustrated by the company's failure to produce one truly outstanding daily. A comparison is often made with Knight-Ridder, which purchased the struggling Philadelphia *Inquirer* in 1969 and spent millions righting it. The *Inquirer*, which last week won its sixth consecutive Pulitzer, now stands comfortably in the black and high in the esteem of U.S. journalists. For some of Gannett's employees, it will take more than last week's Pulitzer to make them proud of their logos.* "Most of us feel we are too good for Gannett," grouses Joe Trento, investigative reporter for the Wilmington (Del.) *News Journal*, which Gannett purchased in 1978. Says a reporter at the Nashville *Tennessean*, which was acquired last year: "We've been a breeding ground for good young writers, but now those people aren't going to come to the *Tennessean* any more. Who wants to *write* for Gannett?"

Many surely would if the chain's newspapers read as well as its balance sheet. At a meeting of investors and security analysts in New York City some years ago, Neuharth was asked whether his company's name was pronounced Gan-*nett* or *Gan*-nett. "Money," he replied. Says J. Kendrick Noble Jr. of Paine Webber Mitchell Hutchins: "I was there, and looking back it's obvious that Al wasn't kidding." With the addition of Combined Communications, Gannett last year passed the billion-dollar mark in revenues for the first time. Earnings were $134 million, up 19% over the previous year and 486% for the decade.

Neuharth is ever ready to pounce when a newspaper comes up for sale, but lately he has become anxious to broaden Gannett's base. Some probable targets: magazines, book publishers and cable-television companies. "We're going to stay in related fields, but that's the only limitation," he says. Gannett would be willing to bid for a big-city daily if it were the dominant paper in town. Says Neuharth: "We are not interested in acquiring a weak or losing newspaper simply to be able to say we're in a top market."

Amid all his First Amendment crusading, Neuharth's capitalistic stride is as quick as ever. Last year he logged 315,000 miles in Gannett's four private jets, visiting the firm's papers, scouting new acquisitions and shuttling between company headquarters and offices in New York City and Washington. He wears two watches, one set to local time, the other to Rochester time. Deals are always in the air, and Al Neuharth is up every dawn, black and white and read all over, running toward a shining goal. Says he: "There is no reason why Gannett can't be the biggest communications company in the world." ■

*The proudest newspaper of all is the Boston *Globe*, which last week received three Pulitzers.

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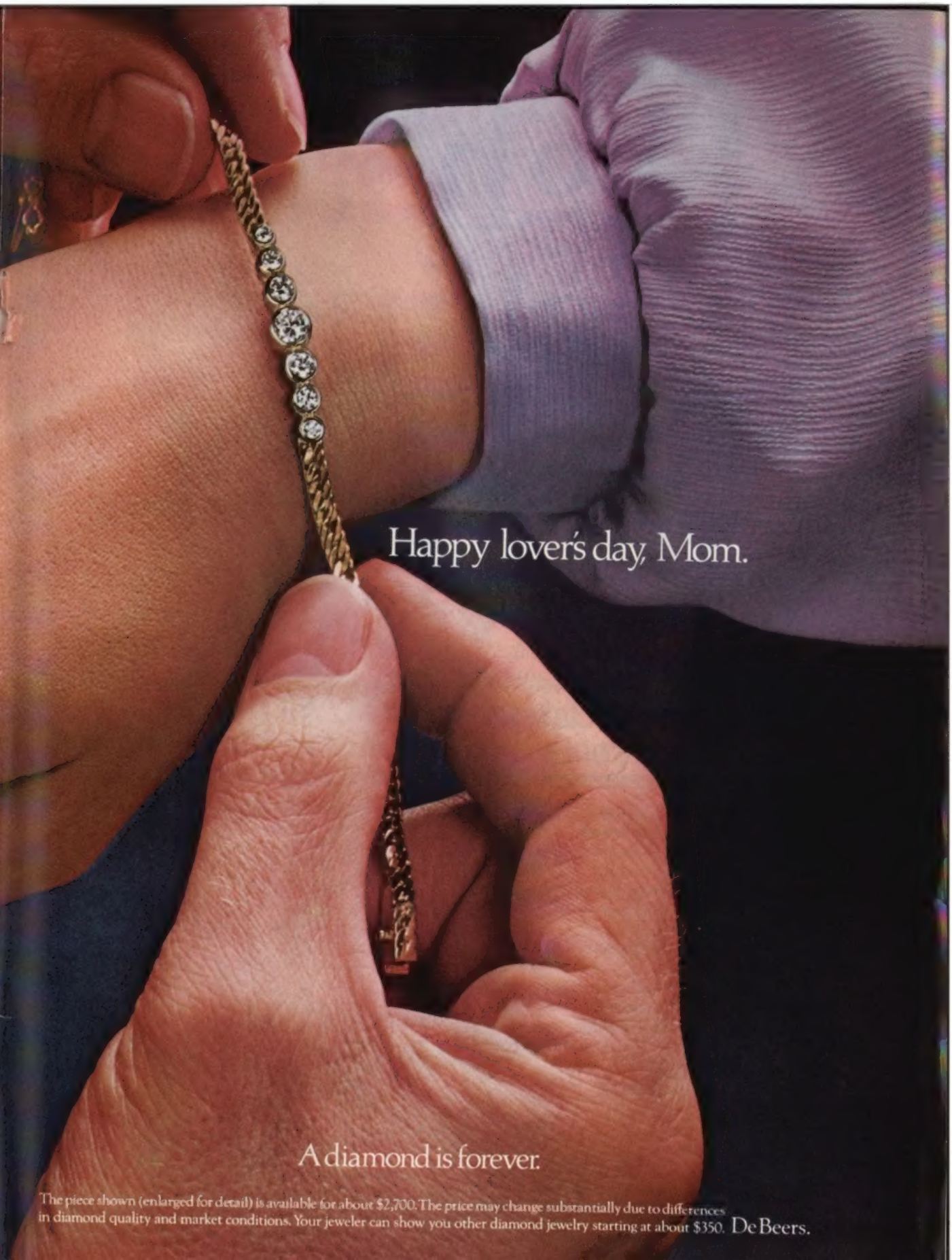
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